WORLD CONQUEST

IN

INSTALMENTS

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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INTRODUCTION

I

The Communist Party Line at any time, anywhere, on any issue, national, international or local, is always an occasion for curiosity, controversy and confusion on the part of non-communists, be they conservatives, liberals, socialists, radicals or leftists in general. For sheer suddenness of its twists and turns, ritualistic hair-splitting about deviations, self-criticism and *confessions of error*, purges of leadership and rank and file, re-reading of the 'objective situation' and renaming of friends, enemies, allies and neutrals, and complete reversal of policies advocated vehemently a few days before—one finds no parallel in political history

To take a few examples from the parent Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), one just does not know how to fit logically together the New Economic Policy of early twenties with the forced collectivisation of agriculture in later years, Anti-Fascist crusade and the Nazi-Soviet Pact, dissolution of the Comintern and reorganization of the Cominform, raising and pulling down of Marshal Tito, irrevocable world revolution and "peaceful co-existence of Post-War II years.

Nearer home, a glance at the 30 years history of the Communist Party of India reveals the same amazing wealth of contradictions. Hostility towards the Congress in the twenties and United Front in the thirties, Imperialist war from 1939 to June 1941 and People's war thereafter support of British Imperialism in India from 1942 *to early 1944* and anti-imperialist hysteria later on; denunciation of Netaji Subhas Bose and INA throughout war years and street riots in their name in 1945, support of

Pakistan and Muslim League from 1942 to 1947 and admission of mistakes in 1948, all out support for Nehru soon after independence and declaration of war on his Government in 1948, open insurrection under Ranadive and Parliamentarism under Gopalan.

Readings from the Communist press and topical pamphlets hardly clarify the confusion except to the faithful and the fellow-traveller who remain perpetually convinced The Communists either talk in a technical jargon not easily understandable to the merely literate political reader or show a splendid forgetfulness of what they said previously on the same issues The human mind, however, wants a bridging up of these logical gaps.

The non-communist is tempted to lose temper and patience, become cynical, feel outraged and declare that the Reds are either a band of lunatics or a pack of impossible scoundrels. Or feel parental, kind and superior and say that the communists are young, inexperienced impatient, restless idealists who very often cannot see that two and two make four Or start believing that all this tight-rope-dancing is the result of personal whims of the Despot in Moscow who controls these world-wide puppet-shows.

But those, who have themselves been communists out of conviction or have made a serious study of communist classics, cannot share these superficial opinions about the Communist Party Line. They know that the leaders of world-communism are down-right serious, sane and practical people with a well-knit ideology which they regard as irrefutable science, and that the communist policy at any time is the result of a sincere effort on their part to apply that "science" to the world around us. The seeming contradictions, illogic, twists, turns and every other feature of the Communist Party Line would become clear if we once understand this "science".

The communists define their ideology as Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism or Marxism-Leninism as expounded and practised by Stalin. Many socialists and leftists, owing allegience to Marxism-Leninism would assert that Stalinism is a gross perversion of the real communist creed. It is a highly controversial and complicated issue which will perhaps never be decided. Both Stalin and his opponents can prove their case by direct quotations from the Masters in whom a revolutionary passion and not logic seems to have been the strong point. But the fact remains that what we are face to face with is the Stalinist version of Marxism-Leninism This version is being practised over vast areas of Europe and Asia by powerful communist governments and communist parties It is no use feeling betrayed, crying "thief" and "usurper". We have got to *understand calmly and coolly what Stalin is aiming* at and what road he intends to follow, before we can decide for ourselves how far we are in agreement or conflict with the goal and the path of Stalin. There is no better way than going to Stalin's own writings which are very clear and precise on every issue he considers important.

We think—and we hope that most of the followers of Stalin would agree with us—that Stalin's *FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM* is the most important document amidst a wealth of writings, speeches and interviews credited to the living Master. It is a series of nine lectures, besides a small introductory chapter, originally delivered at Sverdlov University and first published in Pravda during April and May 1924. These lectures have been given pride of place in all editions of Stalin's magnum opus '*PROBLEMS OF LENINISM*' as well as in the collected works of Stalin, prepared by the Marx-Engels Institute.

We are reprinting in the following pages Chapter Nos. III and VII, headlined *THEORY* and *STRATEGY AND TACTICS* which we consider to be the corner-stones of

the edifice raised in these lectures. Our text has been taken from "*PROBLEMS OF LENINISM*" published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, in 1947. Unfortunately we have not been able to get an edition of this book later than 1947 from any of the bookshops selling Moscow publications in Calcutta. But a comparison of the text in the 1947 edition of the complete book with the text in a separate pamphlet containing these lectures and published by the same House in Moscow in 1950 reveals no change, which, incidentally, is a very frequent phenomenon in Communist publications The date of Moscow publications has significance because they do not retain that which is thought redundant or outmoded, even though it was originally a part of the basic ideology.

II

Stalin gave a summary of his entire thought in his answer to Question No. 12 put by the First American Labour Delegation which met him in Moscow on September 9, 1927. The question was "Can you outline briefly the characteristics of the society of the future which Communism is trying to create?" Stalin stated.

> 'The general characteristics of communist society are given in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Briefly, the anatomy of Communist society may be described as follows It is a society in which. (a) there will be no private ownership of the instruments and means of production but social, collective ownership, (b) there will be no classes or state, but workers in industry and agriculture managing their economic affairs as a free association of working people, (c) national economy, organized according to plan, will be based on the highest technique in both industry and agriculture;

(d) products will be distributed according to the principle of the old French Communists: 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs'; (e) science and art will enjoy conditions conducive to their highest development; (f) the individual, freed from bread and butter cares, and of the necessity of cringing to the 'powers that be' will become really free etc., etc. Clearly we are still remote from such a society.

"With regard to the international conditions necessary for the complete triumph of communist society, these will develop and grow in proportion as revolutionary crises and revolutionary outbreaks of the working class in capitalist countries grow. It must not be imagined that the working-class in one country, or in several countries, will march towards Socialism, and still more to Communism, and that the capitalists of other countries will sit still with folded arms and look on with indifference. Still less must it be imagined that the working class in capitalist countries will agree to be mere spectators of the victorious development of Socialism in one or another country. As a matter of fact, the capitalists will do all in their power to crush such countries. As a matter of fact, every important step taken towards Socialism, and still more towards Communism, in any country will inevitably be accompanied by the unrestrainable efforts of the working class in capitalist countries to achieve the dictatorship and Socialism in those countries. Thus, *in the further progress of development of the international revolution two world centres will be formed the Socialist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards Socialism, and the capitalist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards capitalism. The fight*

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Elsewhere also Stalin defines the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the proletarian revolution in very *unmistakable terms. He states:*

> "The question of proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the main content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievement acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. *The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important mainstay,** brought into being for the purpose of, firstly crushing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and consolidating the achievements of the proletarian revolution, and secondly, carrying the proletarian revolution *to its completion carrying the* revolution to complete victory of Socialism."[1]

Stalin also quotes Lenin to support his own thesis of the inevitable advent of the communist society after dictatorship of the proletariat has been established

> "The economic foundation of this revolutionary force (dictatorship of the proletariat—our addition) the guarantee of its validity and its success is in the fact that the proletariat represents and carries out a *higher type of Social organisation* of labour compared with capitalism. This is the essence. *This is the source of the strength and the guarantee* of the inevitable complete triumph of Communism".[2]

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* Our italics—ed.

1 Problems of Leninism, page 39, Moscow, 1947

2. Ibid, page 135

torship of the proletariat assume fuller meaning. In scriptural language Stalin would say, *"Seek thou first the dictatorship of the proletariat and all else will be added unto thee"*.

There are popular notions that Stalin's Communism is an ideology of certain economic, political and social ends, namely, Equality, Liberty, Security and so on. We are afraid that except for the solitary passage quoted above there is no support for this notion in Stalin's own writings. According to Stalin, *Communism is a body of strategy and tactics for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat on an international scale, a methodology for engineering the proletarian revolution and ushering in the socialist economy which in due course is supposed to develop into the fullfledged communist society*

III

The question would naturally arise regarding the nature, scope and content of this dictatorship of the proletariat which is the corner stone of Stalinism, "the mainstay of the proletarian revolution." Stalin devotes a long chapter to elaboration of this problem in his FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM. For a brief definition, he quotes Lenin who described the dictatorship of the proletariat as

> "*The rule—unrestricted by law and based on force**—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses."[1]

It should be made clear that "the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses" are not necessary on the eve of establishing the dictatorship of the

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proletariat, but are expected to arise after the event. Lenin, whom Stalin quotes, was perfectly clear on this point and stated.

> "The class which took political power into its hand did so knowing that it took power *alone*. That is a part of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat This concept has meaning only when the *single* class knows that it alone is taking power in its hands and does not deceive itself or others with take about 'popular Government elected by *all, sanctified by the whole people* '[1]

There is an amplification of the same point in another statement of Lenin quoted by Stalin

> "Let the majority of the population while private property still exists i e , while the rule and *yoke of capital still exists, first express themselves* in favour of the party of the proletariat, and only then can and should the latter take power—*so say the petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves 'Socialists but are in reality the servitors of the bourgeoisie*
>
> "We *say* let this revolutionary proletariat first over-throw the bourgeoisie, break the yoke of capital and smash the bourgeois state machine, then the victorious proletariat will be able rapidly to gain the sympathy and support of the majority of the toiling nonproletarian masses by satisfying their needs at the expense of the exploiters

It might be imagined by some people that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a short-lived and transitory event In the neature of things it cannot be a temporary

1. Ibid, page 133
2. Ibid, page 132

phenomenon because the dictatorship has to build Socialism on a world scale which canot be possible in a short time. We have, however, Stalin's own definite conception regarding the time-scale of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to him:

> "The dictatoship of the proletariat, the transition from capitalism to Communism must not be regarded as a fleeting period of 'Super-revolutionary' acts and decrees but *as an entire historical era replete with civil wars and external conflicts, with persistent organisational work and economic construction, with advances and retreats, victory and defeats.** This historical era is needed not only to create the economical and cultural pre-requisites for the complete victory of Socialism but also to enable the proletariat, first, to educate itself and become steeled as a force capable of governing the country, and, secondly, to re-educate and remodel the petty-bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organisation of socialist production."[1]

In his support, Stalin quotes Lenin who said

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie whose resistace is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow. *The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the* fores and traditions of the old society."[2]

Also Marx who said

> "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international conflicts,

* Our italics—ed.

1. Problems of Leninism, page 41, Moscow, 1947.

2 Ibid, page 41

not only to change existing conditions but also to change yourselves and to make yourselves capabl of weilding political power."[1]

It should also be clearly understood that according to Stalin the dictatorship of the proletariat must be established on an international scale if complete victory of Socialism is to be achieved There has been a confusion regarding Stalin's attitude to revolution outside, Russia, ever since his controversy with Trotsky about "Permanent Revolution" It is supposed that while Trotsky advocated spread of the revolution abroad, Stalin acted as a conservative and raised the slogan of "Socialism in one country." Lately, Stalin has been talking about 'peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Communism', which misleads quite a few political innocents

Readers will find ample proof in the two chapters from Stalin included in this pamphlet that *Stalin stands for world proletarian revolution and international dictatorship of the proletariat* We shall give here a few more direct quotations on the subject

In his introductory lecture to FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, he says —

> "Some say that Leninism is the application of Marxism to the peculiar conditions of the situation in Russia This definition contains a particle of truth, but not the whole truth by any means Lenin, indeed applied Marxism to Russian conditions, and applied it in a masterly way But if Leninism were only the application of Marxism to the peculiar situation in Russia it would be a purely national *and only national*, a purely Russian and only Russian, phenomenon *We know, however,*

1 Ibid, page 41

that Leninism is not merely a Russian, but an internationl phenomenon rooted in the whole of international development."*[1]

He goes further in his OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TACTICS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS, and explains that the slogan of "Socialism in one country" is not a contradictory, but a complementary and instrumental aspect of the world-revolution:

> "The victory of Socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, a means *for* hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries For the victory of the revolution in one country, in the present case Russia, is not only the product of the uneven development and progressive decay of imperialism, it is at the same time the beginning of and the ground work for world Revolution."[2]

In yet another statement, in the same article, he repeats the same argument more pointedly.

> "We see that the first country to break away, the first victorious country, is already being supported by the workers and the labouring masses in general of other countries Without this support it could not hold out Undoubtedly, this support will increase and grow. *But there can also be no doubt that the very development of world revolution, the very process of the breaking away from imperialism of a number of new countries will be more rapid and more thorough, the more thoroughly*

* Our italics—ed.

1. Problems of Leninism, page 13 Moscow, 1947,

2 Ibid, page 329,

Socialism fortifies itself in the first victorious country, the faster this country is transformed into a base for the further unfolding of the world revolution, into a lever for the further disintegration of imperialism"*[1]

According to Stalin, therefore,—

"The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in that it constitutes a great start made by one country in causing a break in the system of imperialism and that it is the first centre of Socialism in an ocean of imperialist countries, but also in that *it constitutes the first stage of the world revolution and a mighty base for its further development*.*[2]

Stalin also quotes Lenin in his support —

"The victorious proletariat having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own Socialist production, would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries, and *in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states*.*[3]

That Stalin does not believe in "peaceful co-existance" is clear from a statement of Lenin which he quotes in his writings. Lenin had said

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states and *the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in*

* Our italics—*ed*
1. Problems of Leninism page 122
2. Ibid, page, 123.
3 Ibid, page, 122

the end. *And before that end supervenes a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable.** That means that if the ruling class, the proletariat, wants to hold sway it must prove its capacity to do so by military organisation also."[1]

This goal of world proletarian revolution was completely and faithfully accepted by the Communist International, founded by Lenin in 1919. The Comintern adopted its THESES AND STATUTES at the Second World Congress held in Moscow from July 17 to August 7, 1920. The first Statute reads as follows:—

> "The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organising common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: *the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic for the complete abolition of classes and the realisation of Socialism—this first step to Communist Society*"*

It must be remembered that Stalin has maintained the Comintern with its original THESES AND STATUTES, all through these years Tactically suppressed in 1943 to please his "Imperialist allies" against Hitler, Stalin resurrected the Comintern as Cominform in 1947. Stalin has remained true to the vow he took on the death of Lenin in January, 1924, in spite of all that his adversaries of the Fourth International might say. Facing the Second All Union Congress of Soviets, he said —

> "Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics.

* Our italics—ed.

1 Ibid, page 160.

> We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest too we will fulfil with credit,"[1]

This speech ended with the following words:—

> "Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the working people of the whole world—The Communist International."[2]

There should be no doubt left that the slogan of "peaceful co-existence" is what the communists call a "partial slogan," a slogan advanced in the period of "ebb of the revolutionary movement" when the Party follows Tactics of Retreat.

IV

We, now, come to the human agency through which the Dictatorship of the Proletariat really functions i.e., the kind of people who wield power in the name of the proletariat. Stalin's unequivocal reply is—the Communist Party. He defines the Party as

> *"the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"* because "*the proletariat needs the Party not only to achieve the dictatorship, it needs it still more to maintain the dictatorship, to consolidate and expand it in order to achieve the complete victory of Socialism.*"*[3]

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* Our Italics—*ed.*

1 Lenin, Selected Works Vol I, Part I page 24, Moscow, 1952.

2 Ibid, page 25.

3 Problems of Leninism, pages 87-88, Moscow, 1947.

After describing the other mass organisations of the Proletariat e g , trade unions, the soviets, the co-operative societies, the youth leagues etc., as 'levers' and 'transmission belts' of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he makes the point very clear indeed:

> "The highest expression of the leading role of the party, here, in the Soviet Union, in the land of dictatorship of the proletariat, for example, is the fact that *not a single political or organisational question is decided by our Soviet and other mass organisations without guiding directions from the Party In this sense it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence the dictatorship of its vanguard, the dictatorship of the party as the main guiding force of the proletariat.*"*[1]

In his answer to the First question of the First American Labour Delegation also he made the same assertion. According to Stalin, Lenin's specific contributions to the question of the Party of the proletariat were:

> "a) That the Party is a higher from of class organisation of the proletariat compared with other forms of proletarian organisation (labour unions, co-operative societies, the organisation of State) whose work, it is the Party's function to generalise and to direct,
>
> "b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realised only through the Party, the directing force of the dictatorship;
>
> "c) that the *dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by one party, the Communist Party,** which does not and must not share power with any other party."[2]

* Our italics—ed

1 Ibid, page 140.

2. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol I, Part I, pages 52 53, Moscow 1952)

Now, as the task is no less than establishment of an international dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party, too, has necessarily to be an international organisation. A reference to the THESES AND STATUTES of the Communist International would bear out the logical inference. We reproduce below the relevent Statutes.—

"2) The new International Association of Workers is called The Communist International.

"3) *All parties and organisations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the given country (section of the International).**

"4) The World Congress of all parties and organisations which from part of the Communist International is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress as a rule convenes not less than once a year. The World Congress confirms the programs of the various parties comprising the Communist International The World Congress discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics which are connected with the activity of the Communist International The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organisation is decided upon by a special regulation of the Congress.

"5) The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the intervals between the Convention of the World Congress and is responsible only to the World Congress.

* Our italics—ed.

") *The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International and issues instructions obligatory to all the parties and organisations which form part of the Communist International.** The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian desciplinc, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of such parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. These parties retain the right of appealing to the World Congress *In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organises in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureax completely subordinated to the Executive Committee** The representatives of the Executive Committee shall carry out their political tasks in closest contact with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the given country."

We can, therefore, safely conclude that *the goal of Stalinism is dictatorship of the proletariat on an international scale, exercised by the Communist International.*

Before we discuss the means which the Communists are directed to employ and the road which Stalin has mapped out for them, we shall touch upon the character of the Communist Party Who are the Communists!

A statistical enquiry in the class origins of the Communists, past and present, would reveal to anybody that the overwhelming majority of them come from classes other than the working class, such as, the capitalists, landlords and the petty-bourgeoisie. Why these people call themselves the party of the proletariat, is an intriguing question.

* Our italics—ed

parties in several countries, big and small. If you tell them that Nazism also had a theory of history and also rose to power greater than the communists have yet attained, they lose their temper and call you a Fascist!

But we can say, that a group of people, coming mostly from the educated, propertied classes, start believing that History wants to travel in a particular direction; that unaided she might go astray, that she needs the help of a Political Party to lead her to her longed-for destination; that she not only appoints a special group of people to play that role of guides and helpers but also reveals to them her inmost secret seekings; and, lastly, that the appointees are *they themselves* and the secret is the theory and practice of proletarian revolution already known to them as a result of their own philosophical, economic and historical contemplations. One comes back where one started from. But such is the nature of all dogmas held by fanatics, religious or otherwise. In fact, the Communists are a band of self-chosen people with a mission to lead the human herd into the Promised Land, the Millennium, the Satyayuga. Stalin said so much while opening his speech on the death of Lenin on January 26, 1924—

> "Comrades, *We Communists, are people of a special mould We are made of a special stuff**. We are those who form the army of the great proletarin strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin. It is not given to everyone to be member of such a Party."*1

There it is! One may keep wondering how this doctrine is in any way different from the Nazi doctrine of the Nordic Race!

* Our italics—*ed.*

1 Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. I Part I page 21, Moscow, 1952,

> workers' parties ought to have counteracted these prejudices, defending the historical interests of the proletariat, which demanded of the proletarian parties a declaration of war against war."

Is this ideology, this philosophy of history, this theory of a proletarian revolution establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving a Socialist world-economy on the way to the *Communist Society*—is it a creation of the proletarian class out of their own experience, aspirations and knowledge? So far as we know Stalin has not discussed this point anywhere in his writings or speeches etc. But Lenin was very positive and clear on the issue and we hope Stalin would not dispute Lenin's authority. Lenin wrote —

> *"The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation etc. The theory of Socialism, however, grew out of the philosophical, historical, and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia."*[*1]

Now, the Communists regard their theory of "scientific socialism" as an exact insight into the inner workings of History herself, and asked for proof they assert that its correctness has been borne out in practice. By practice, of course, they mean the rise to power of Communist

* Our italics—ed.

1. Lenin Selected Works, Vol. I, Part 1, pages 233-34, Moscow 1952

parties in several countries, big and small. If you tell them that Nazism also had a theory of history and also rose to power greater than the communists have yet attained, they lose their temper and call you a Fascist!

But we can say, that a group of people, coming mostly from the educated, propertied classes, start believing that History wants to travel in a particular direction; that unaided she might go astray, that she needs the help of a Political Party to lead her to her longed-for destination; that she not only appoints a special group of people to play that role of guides and helpers but also reveals to them her inmost secret seekings; and, lastly, that the appointees are *they themselves* and the secret is the theory and practice of proletarian revolution already known to them as a result of their own philosophical, economic and historical contemplations. One comes back where one started from. But such is the nature of all dogmas held by fanatics, religious or otherwise In fact, the Communists are a band of self-chosen people with a mission to lead the human herd into the Promised Land, the Millennium, the Satyayuga. Stalin said so much while opening his speech on the death of Lenin on January 26, 1924—

> "Comrades, We *Communists, are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff**. We are those who form the army of the great proletarin strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin It is not given to everyone to be member of such a Party."[1]

There it is' One may keep wondering how *this* doctrine is in any way different from the Nazi doctrine of the Nordic Race'

* Our italics—ed.

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* Our italics – *ed*

‡ Lenin Selected Works, Vol. I, Part I, pages 233-34, Moscow 1952

The Party must be "strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline", should "preclude all factionalism and division of authority" and should "develop and become strong by purging itself of opportunists and reformists, Social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social patriots and Social-pacifists", who grow inside the Party because "the proletariat is not an isolated class" and "is constantly replenished by the influx of peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals", who "penetrate the party and introduce into it the spirit of hesistency and opportunism, the spirit of demoralisation and uncertainty" and who, "principally constitute the source of factionalism and disintegration, the source of disorganisation and disruption of the party from within."

Although, the road to Socialism and Communism is straight via the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party may wander away due to opportunist elements inside. Stalin gives a warning and puts up danger signposts, both on the "Right" and the "Left" of the revolutionary road. The road has two sections—this side of the dictatorship, and beyond the dictatorship. The dangers lurk on both of them Stalin outlined the Right danger before the Moscow Control Commission of the C P.S.U. (B) in October, 1928:—

> "*Under capitalist conditions* the Right deviation in Communism is a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet consciously realised, but nevertheless, a tendency on the part of a section of the communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of Social-Democracy. It means the strengthening and consolidation of capitalism in the working class. Hence, a victory of the Right division in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would add to the conditions necessary for the preservation of capitalism.

* Our italics—ed.

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The readers would understand from the chapter "THEORY" included in this pamphlet that 'objective conditions' for the proletarian revolution now exist in the whole world. According to Lenin the world has been ripe for proletarian revolution ever since 1900-03 when "Capitalism has been transformed into Imperialism."[1] History is ready to deliver the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Socialist Society, immediately. What History needs is a competent midwife to help her in this supreme and final crisis of maternity. That midwife is the Communist International. Stalin writes :—

> "In the pre-revolutionary period, in the period of more or less peaceful development, the parties of the Second International were the predominant force in the working class movement and parliamentary forms of struggle were regarded as the principal forms.
>
> "But matters have changed radically with the dawn of the new period The new period is one of the open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat.
>
> "Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal. Without such a party it is useless to even think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat".[1]

Problems of Leninism, page 81, Moscow, 1947.

Party commands as political or ethical imperatives. In their thinking, the Party tells them just what History invites her to do. The proletarian revolution is not a social or political or humanitarian slogan, but only an "historical inevitability" which it is their "scientific responsibility" to help materialise. Logically, of course, this combination of freewill and determinism, contingency and necessity, choice and inevitability, human effort and Fate, has been found an impossible task by all rational thinkers. But the Communists revel in contradictions which, in their thinking, are basic to the structure of our cosmos down to human society, and which, instead of trying to explain or interpret or abolish, we should help evolve into a final harmony through cataclysmic conflicts. This Mytique is called dialectics in contrast to mere "bourgeois" metaphysics wallowing in the mud of Aristotelian Law of Difference.

In Stalin's opinion, the historical necessity as well as inevitability for proletarian revolution arises on account of the rise of Imperialism. But by "*Imperialism*" he mostly does not mean what we commonly understand, viz., the conquest of foreign countries and enslavement of foreign populations etc. Stalin writes —

> "Lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism'. why? Because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to *their last* bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins."[1]

The three principal contradictions of *Capitalism* are: 1) between labour and capital in every country; 2) between one industrially advanced country and another and 3) between industrially advanced and backward countries. The first contradiction leads to civil strife inside every country, the second leads to wars between advanced

1. Ibid, page 15.

> *"Undr the conditions of Soviet development*, when capitalism has already been overthrown, but its roots have not yet been torn up, the Right deviation in the Communist movement signifies a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet fully realised, but nevertheless a tendency on the part of a section of the communists to depart from the general line of our party towards bourgeois ideology. Hence a victory of the Right deviation in our Party adds to the conditions necessary for the restoration of capitalism in our country."

He charts out the "Left" danger in a single statement, equally meticulous —

> "Where does the danger of the "Left" (Trotskyite) deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it over-estimates the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism, it sees only the possibility of restoring capitalism, but cannot see the possibility of building Socialism by the efforts of our country; it gives way to despair and is obliged to console itself with prattle about the Thermidorianism of our Party. Hence the adventurism in the policy of "Left" deviation. Hence its 'superhuman' leaps in the sphere of policy. There is no doubt that the triumph of the "Left" deviation in our Party would lead to the working class being separated from the rest of the working class masses, and, consequently, to the defeat of the proletariat and to conditions facilitating the restoration of capitalism."[2]

Now, we have to survey the road which the Party must tread towards world dictatorship of the Communist International. The communists, of course, do not regard

1. & 2. Problems of Leninism, pages 225-29, & 233, Moscow, 1947.

Party commands as political or ethical imperatives. In their thinking, the Party tells them just what History invites her to do. The proletarian revolution is not a social or political or humanitarian slogan, but only an "historical inevitability" which it is their "scientific responsibility" to help materialise. Logically, of course, this combination of freewill and determinism, contingency and necessity, choice and inevitability, human effort and Fate, has been found an impossible task by all rational thinkers. But the Communists revel in contradictions which, in their thinking, are basic to the structure of our cosmos down to human society, and which, instead of trying to explain or interpret or abolish, we should help evolve into a final harmony through cataclysmic conflicts. This Mytique is called dialectics in contrast to mere "bourgeois" metaphysics wallowing in the mud of Aristotelian Law of Difference.

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1. Ibid, page 15.

temporary, vaccilating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific modern socialism in general."[1]

In the first place, the communists believe that they cannot rise to power by parliamentary or peaceful means, that a violent revolution is inevitable, is in the nature of things. Stalin says:—

"Where and by whom has it ever been proved that the parliamentary struggle is the principal form of struggle of the proletariat! Does not the history of all revolutionary movements show that the parliamentary struggle is only a school for and an aid in organising the extra-parliamentary struggle of the proletariat, that under Capitalism the fundamental problems of the working class movement are solved by force, by the direct struggle of the proletarian masses, their general strike, their insurrection?"[2]

It is recorded history also that communists have not attained power by parliamentary means in any of the countries they now occupy. The classical example is the Russian Constituent Assembly which was summoned by the Bolsheviks after seizure of power in October 1917 and dissolved by force on the first day of its meeting, because, out of the total 36,000,000 votes cast, the Bolsheviks had obtained only 9,000,000 and found themselves outnumbered by Socialists and Liberals. In China and East European countries too, communists have seized power by military and conspiratorial methods, as we shall discuss in a later section. It is therefore, difficult to say whether this total rejection of parliamentary methods is a theoretical formulation or a dogmatic rationalisation of distrust aroused by a specific experience in Russian history.

1. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. II Part II page 398, Moscow, 1951.
2. Problems of Leninism, page 29, Moscow, 1947.

nations and the third to strife between backward and advanced countries. *The task of the Communists is to take advantage of this three-fold strife and consolidate their power in one country after another, piecemeal and by stages, remaining conscious always that time is on their side and that history would vindicate their faith*

Now, essentially, this theory of revolution is a theory of achieving power by utilizing civil and national conflicts which exist, which, as a matter of fact, have always existed and will continue to exist, in our human world. Stalin thinks that capitalism is the root cause of all these conflicts, which will disappear as soon as capitalism is abolished—a highly controversial thesis, irrespective of whether capitalism is desirable or not. We recommend Sri R Swarup's RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM for a detailed study of this question But the fact remains that these conflicts can be utilized and a party convinced of its righteous mission and indifferent to the purity of means, must exploit them for building its own power. This is the whole idea behind elaboration of STRATEGY AND TACTICS of proletarian revolution which in reality is the old Mechiavellian recipe of divide and conquer force, and fraud, dressed up in Marxist verbiage

Lenin said so when talking about the method of revolution:

> The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and without fail, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully using every, even the smallest 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of every country and amongst the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be

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1. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. II Part II page 398, Moscow, 1951,
2. Problems of Leninism, page 23, Moscow, 1947,

Secondly, in Communist ethical thinking, the means to be adopted for bringing about the proletarian revolution should be judged only from the point of view of expediency and from no other point of view at all. Lenin told the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League in 1920 as follows —

> "We repudiate all morality taken apart from human society and classes. We say that it is a deception, a fraud, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists
>
> "We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."[1]

That is why Lenin could advise the Communists—

> *"to resort to various strategems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs"*[2] *

The Communist STRATEGY AND TACTICS should, therefore, be viewed in this larger perspective of a basic belief in the necessity of violence and a completely amoral and instrumental attitude towards the means to be employed.

What does the revolution mean? Stalin gives the definition in his reply to Comrade Yan-sky —

> "Lenin says that 'the main question of every revolution is the question of state power'. In the hands of which class or which classes is power concentrated, which class or which classes must be

1. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol II, Part II, page, 483 (Moscow 1951)
2. Ibid, page 379.
* Our italics—*ed*.

overthrown, which class or which classes must take power—such is the main question of every revolution."[1]

So the main question of the proletarian revolution is seizure of state power by the proletariat which in Stalinist context means the Communist Party, which is just another name for a band of professional revolutionaries who have mastered the art of divide-and-conquer. What is this art? The Communist reply is—class analysis, class characterisation and class war,*

The communists analyse every society in terms of classes it may contain and charactarise every class exactly in terms of its role and ultimate fate in the communist revolution. Each class is to be used against the other and liquidated when its utility is over and it attempts to share power with the Communists after the common enemy has been overthrown. Now, all societies are generally constituted by all or several of the following classes:

1) Landlords or Feudal Elements
2) Capitalists or the Big Bourgeoisie
3) Middle Classes or the Petty-bourgeoisie
4) Peasantry—Rich, Middle and Poor.
5) Urban Working Class or the Proletariat.

Super-imposed upon this social structure may be a class of foreign rulers in societies reduced to a colonial status. The communists must oust all these classes from power, subdue and reduce them to a single class—the working class which will build Socialism under communist dictatorship. And this task has been neatly divided by them into stages, each with its own comprehensive strategy.

1. Problems of Leninism, page 178, Moscow, 1947
* Our italics—ed.

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1. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol II, Part II, page, 463 (Moscow 1951)
2. Ibid, page 379.
* Our italics—*ed.*

the greatest common measure of grievances and then multiply that factor by, what I call, exaggeration. When you exaggerate the g.c m. becomes l.c.m. That is the arithmetical strategy of the communists. ......It is built on the formula laid down in the scriptures of the Communist Party. It is the rusult of a long research into human psychology. Find out the least comon measure, and multiply it and make it the common policy for everybody. When this is arrived at the small fish is eaten by the big fish. Then comes the Police Raj greater than any Police Raj, Mr. Nagi (Communist member—our addition) has described."

Here it is relevant to clarify a very great confusion which is very widely prevalent, namely, that the communists are friends of the middle-classes and the peasantry. Nothing is further from the truth as revealed in Stalin's writings, all of which discuss these classes with brutal frankness. In basic communist thinking, these two classes are greater and more difficult enemies than the capitalists and landlords who are only a handful and whose elimination leaves big estates and giant factories ready for 'socialist reconstruction' in the shape of large scale industry and collectivised agriculture. The middle classes and the peasantry, on the other hand, are *'addicted'* to small scale production and small agricultural *holdings* and because of their numerical strength are bound to offer bitter and stiff resistance to the eventual socialisation and collectivisation under communist dictatorship.

Referring to small producers Lenin wrote *in his Left-wing Communism An Infantile Disorder*.—

"They encircle the *proletariat* on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapse among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois

At each stage the communists, first, choose the main enemy against whom the main blow is to be diretected. The main enemy is always the class which controls state power at the particular time. Next thing they do is to organise a "United" or "Popular" or "National" front of all those classes who are hostile to the "main enemy", irrespective of the difference in objectives after the "main enemy" has been overcome And lastly, they paralyse or neutralise the "vaccilating class" i.e., the class which cannot choose decisively between the "main enemy" and the communist "United Front". The whole plan of this revolution is conceived dynamically, so that allies at one stage become enemies at another, till the Communist Party emerges as the sole survivor and establishes its dictatorship. It is essential, however, that the communists retain leadership of the 'united front' at every stage The implications of this strategy are.

1) Concealment of the ultimate communist aims from the "temporary allies" in the "United Front".

2) Devising of a common or "minimum programme" acceptable to the "temporary allies' and as a plank for mobilising the broad masses against the "main enemy"

3) Advancing slogans which the "vaccilating class' can neither support nor oppose for fear of being identified with one side or the other

Shri Rajagopalachari, the present Chief Minister of Madras State summarised the essence of Communist strategy into a simple arithmetical formula, in his speech to the Madras Legislative Assembly on July 3, 1952. He said, as reported in Hindu of 4th July .—

> "I know how smooth and oily the Communists are and how they get into every party on the basis of a g.c.m. and then convert that g.c.m. into an l.c.m. by multiplication. They take possession of

absolutely correct. Why is the peasantry described as the last capitalist class? Because of the two main classes of which our society is composed, the peasantry is a class whose economy is based on private property and small commodity production. Because the peasentry as long as it remains a peasentry carrying on small commodity production, will breed capitalists in its ranks, and cannot help breeding them constantly and continuously. This is of decisive importance in the question of our Marxian attitude to the problem of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry."[1]

What is then the quality of this alliance between the Communists and the peasantry? We have Lenin's classic enunciation in his ATTITUDE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY TOWARD PEASANT MOVEMENT.—

> "At first we support the peasantry in general against the landlords, support it to the end and by all means, including confiscation and then (or rather not 'then' but at the same time) we support the proletariat against the peasantry in general. To try *now* to calculate what the combination of forces will be within the peasantry on the 'morrow' of the revolution (the democratic revolution) is sheer utopia. Without descending to adventurism or going against our scientific conscience, without striving for cheap popularity, we can and do say only *one thing*. We shall put every effort into assisting the entire peasantry to make the democratic revolution, *in order thereby to make it easier* for us, the Party of the Proletariat, to pass on as quickly as possible, to the new and higher task—the Socialist Revolution. We hold forth no promises of harmony equalisation or 'socialisation' as a

1 Ibid, page 238 Moscow, 1947

spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. *It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralised big bourgeoisie than to vanquish the millions and millions of small owners, yet they by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, illusive, demoralising activity achieve the very results wich the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie* ' *[1]

Stalin supports him in his lecture THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE C.P S U. (B) —

"Are there any factors in our Soviet Country which make the restoration of capitalism possible? Yes, there are. That, Comrades, may appear strange, but it is a fact. We have overthrown capitalism, we have established the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are developing our Socialist industry at a rapid pace and are linking the peasant economy with it. But we have not yet torn up the roots of capitalism Where are these roots implanted? They are implanted in the system of commodity production in small production in the towns and particularly in the rural districts. As Lenin said, the strength of capitalism lies in the strength of small production. For unfortunately small production is still very very widespread and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie, continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale "[2]

Stalin describes the peasantry more specifically *in the* same lecture.—

"Lenin said that the peasantry is the last capitalist class. Is the thesis correct? Yes, it is

1 Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. II, Part II, page 367, Moscow, 1951.

2. Problems of Leninism, page 230, Moscow, 1947.

* Our italics —*ed.*

absolutely correct. Why is the peasantry described as the last capitalist class? Because of the two main classes of which our society is composed, the peasantry is a class whose economy is based on private property and small commodity production. Because the peasentry as long as it remains a peasentry carrying on small commodity production, will breed capitalists in its ranks, and cannot help breeding them constantly and continuously. This is of decisive importance in the question of our Marxian attitude to the problem of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry."[1]

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1 Ibid, page 233 Moscow, 1947

result of the victory of the *present* peasant uprising—on the contrary we 'promise' a new struggle, new inequality, a new revolution towards which we are striving."[1]

With greater frankness Stalin wrote to Comrade Pokrovsky who was obviously confused by conflicting slogans. Stalin stated—

> "Reading your letter one might think that it was not we who used the peasantry in the service of the proletarian revolution, but, on the contrary, that it was the 'peasantry as a whole', including the kulaks, who used the Bolsheviks in their service. The Bolsheviks' affairs would be in a bad way if they so easily enter the "service" of non-proletarian classes."[2]

To return to strategy, the same pattern is followed by the Communists on the international plane. The countries where Communists have achieved dictatorship form the "proletarian" vanguard in the task of international revolution. The main enemy is the strongest non-Communist nation at the time. Non-Communist nations who are opposed to the main enemy form the Communist "United Front" or "Grand Alliance" while other nations, divided in their hostility or loyalty to the vanguard and the "main enemy" have to be neutralised or paralysed. The STATUTES of the Communist International state very frankly:

> "In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an international Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms"

1. Lenin Selected Works, Vol. I, page 442, Moscow 1947
2. Problems of Leninism, page 198, Moscow, 1947

Here we must clear up another confusion, namely, that the communists stand for national independence and self-determination of people, especially in countries under foreign domination. It is the same type of confusion as we discussed above in respect of peasantry and the middle classes. An appeal to Stalin's writings would provide us with the correct communist attitude. In his lecture on THE NATIONAL PROBLEM, he says:—

> "Formerly, the national problem was regarded from a reformist point of view, as an independent problem having no connection with the general problems of the rule of capital, of the overthrow of imperialism, of the proletarian revolution. Leninism has proved, and the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia have confirmed, that the national problem can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of the proletarian revolution, and the road to victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. *The national problem is a part of the general problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat* *
>
> "The question presents itself as follows:—Are the revolutionary possibilities latent in the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed countries already exhausted or not; and if not, is there any hope, any ground to expect that these possibilities can be utilized for the proletarian revolution, and the colonial countries can be transformed from a reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a reserve of the revolutionary proletariat, into an ally of the latter.

* Out italics — ed

"Leninism replies to this question in the affirmative ... ... Hence the necessity for the proletariat to support—resolutely and actively to support —the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples.

"This does not mean of course, that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every single concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it. *Cases occur when the national movements in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. In such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question,*"*[1]

The THESES of the Communist International reflect Stalin's basic thinking on national and colonial questions. THESIS no. 7 states —

"There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which everyday grow farther apart from each other. There is the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and sufferers from all sorts of exploitation The former endeavour to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent but the Communist International must struggle against such control and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies,"...... The proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of

* Our italics – *ed.*

1. Problems of Leninism, pages 61-62, Moscow, 1947.

the Soviet idea and organise the peasant's and worker's soviets as soon as possible. These soviets will work in close co-operation with the soviet republics in the advanced capitalist countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order through-out the world."

Such, in concrete shape, is the Communist strategy for peace-meal world conquest

VI

Now we come to a consideration of Communist tactics, which are a subordinate part of strategy, but on the correct application of which in day to day struggle depends the success of the strategy at each stage. The main outline has been discussed in the Chapter 'STRATEGY & TACTICS' included in this pamphlet. We shall here examine this question somewhat more specifically.

The Communists have an uncompromising singleness of aim but they combine with it a great flexibility of approach. The preparation for the proletarian revolution must not stop for a single moment, whatever be the '*objective situation*'. The ideal situation for the Communists, of course, is the time when the discontent against governmental authority breaks out into strikes and demonstrations. If the communists can manage to-get the leadership in such a situation, they come out with insurrectionary slogans But, at the same time, a mass movement led by non-communists is regarded by communists with great suspicion and distrust and unless they can find some foothold in it, they do their utmost to ridicule, discredit and frustrate the movement.

To ensure their leadership in times of revolutionary crisis, therefor, they have developed tactics of evasion and

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VIII. The International of Red Relief, which had a number of secondary societies.

IX. The Anti-Imperialist and Anti-colonial League which later cooperated with the Anti-Fascist League.

X. The International of Socialist Lawyers whose task was to defend communist, in the courts as well as to introduce movements convenient to the communists into the legislation of non-communist countries.

XI The International of Free-thinkers aiming at the centralisation of the atheist movement of the world.

XII. The International of Sailors and Stevedors which founded "Sailor's Clubs" in all the larger ports of the world.

XIII. The International of Friends of the U. S. S. R. under which Friends of the Soviet Union Societies were formed in all non-communist countries.

XIV. The International of Red Revolutionary Writers used for communist propaganda in literature and publicity.

Under the Cominform most of these have reappeared with changed names. The International Trade Union has become World Trade Union Federation, International Federation of Communist Youth has been reincarnated as the World Federation of Democratic Federation. There are many more such as International association of Democratic Lawyers, International Conference for Protection of Children, World Congress for the Defence of Peace which directs various Progressive Writers' and Artists' Associations and Partisans of Peace and so on. The old Friends of the Soviet Union Societies have all along been intact and have been supplemented by many other Societies for Friendship with new communist countries such as China and East European satellites.

infiltration. They go to the people of all classes, not as communists, but as relief workers, trade unionists, protectors of children, champions of women, defenders of civil rights, lovers of progressive art, preventers of cruelty to animals, educationists, dramatists, literary critics, sportsmen and as humanitarian and philanthropic associations, organisations and societies to spread their personal influence and plant the Party Line as far as others would take it. They have formed a host of seemingly non-political organisations which work hand in hand with the Communist International. The Comint included the following main sections .—

I. *The International Trade Union or the Profintern*, designed to infiltrate and control trade union movement in all countries It had three offices a) the TERRITORIAL dealing with trade unions, country by country, b) *PROFESSIONAL*, supervising syndicates of similar professions, and c) the *CLANDESTINE*, entrusted with transmitting of strike order and financial help etc.

II. International of Co-operatives

III. The Red Sports International or the Sportintern.

IV. The International of Red Combatants, which attempted to organise ex-servicemen and reservists for action aiming at a) spread of anti-militarism in non-communist countries, b) formation of Red Guards.

V. The Women's Communist International.

VI. International Federation of Communist Youth whose aim was to "make every child a communist".

VII. The International of Educational Employees with the object of disseminating communist propaganda amongst teachers and professors.

acuteness in the class struggle the period has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist Party to combine systematically all legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organisation."

Further, condition No. 3 for admission to the Comintern reads—

> "The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. *They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should be of assistance to the party to do its duty towards the revolution.** In every country where, in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."

These instructions and conditions led to organisation of communist groups more or less parallel to open Communist Parties. Annals of every Communist Party in the world go to prove that suppression of the legal party does not seriously affect the communist movement, unless some way is found to destroy the illegal apparatus, as the Nazis did in Germany. Official Soviet sources admit the existence of secret communist groups. According to Report of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevik) to the 18th Congress of the Comintern in March, 1939, "there are thousands of Communists working with great devotion and sacrifice in conditions of compulsory secrecy who are not to be found in any statistics.

In times of peace, the Communists follow tactics of retreat such as *revolutionary parliamentarism* and

* Our italics—ed

All these organisations work on one fundamental principle laid down by the famous German Communist, Klara Zetkin, in 1925 —

"These Organisations must not carry placards with the words 'Communist organisation' visible from afar by their red letters. On the contrary they should appear on the outside as neutral organisations. It is indispensable that their committees should include representatives of all types of opinion. What is, however, essential is that the Communist Party should surreptitiously, give to each organisation its aims and its programme."

That is why the name "Communist" is being dropped and words "Progressive" and "Democratic" used more and more in its place. In an article in the Cominform Journal, '*For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*' dated August 24, 1951 emphasis was laid on,—

> "the need to wage a tireless struggle in the *trade unions the need for Communists to carry* on daily work in the other mass organisations: Youth, Women's and Peasants' organisations, co-operatives, in the associations of ex-servicemen of the resistance movement, in sports and clubs, tenants' associations, cultural societies, etc."

These communist "Fronts" give rise to the numerous "fellow-travellers" of the communists, who are mostly dupes or downright liars.

In order to assist the work of infiltration and to remain prepared for the day when the Party is suppressed, quite a large part of communist activities in non-communist countries are carried on secretly and illegally and the Communist International gives specific direction in this connection. Thesis No. 12 lays down,—

> "For all countries, even for most free "legal" and "peaceful" *ones in the sense of a lesser*

order in general. *The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it,** whether they be republican or constitutional monarchy."

Thesis No. 11 of the same section, however, directs the Communists to join bourgeois parliaments and Thesis No. 12 defines what work they should do.—

"This work within the parliaments, consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denouncing of enemies, the ideological unification of the *masses*, who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments."

Thesis No. 14 relates to the election campaign and reads.

"The election campaign must be carried on not for the purpose of obtaining a large number of seats in parliament, but for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the slogans of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, *movements*, among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment; it is necessary *to* summon all the masses of the proletarian organisations to active work."

Sub-section No. IV of this section gives precise instructions to the Communist deputies. Some of the THESES are reproduced below.—

"4. A Communist representative, by decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine

* Our italics—ed.

revolutionary reformism. In this context the Communist International enjoins upon all its sections as follows:—

> "When there is no revolutionary upsurge, the communist parties must advance slogans and demands that correspond to the every day needs of the toilers, linking them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International."

And as Sri R Swarup puts it in this RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

> "Given the 'fundemental tasks' the necessary slogans can always be got up, firstly, because people alway have everyday needs of one kind or the other, and secondly, because 'needs' of the people, not being a fixed quantity and not depending on any determinated criterion, and, left to be interpreted by those who have 'fundamental tasks' of the Communist International to fulfil, can also be cooked up like the slogans"

We should make a particular mention of the Communist parliamentary tactics as elaborated by the Communist International and as followed by the Communist parties in countries which have parliamentary institutions, but which due to democratic traditions or ignorance about communist objectives and tactics or the mass strength of these communist parties have not disallowed communist entry into their parliaments, assemblies, and municipal councils etc.

A whole section of THE THESES AND STATUTES of the Communist International is devoted to this problem. Thesis No. 4 of sub-section No. II reads:

> "The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute the most important apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be taken over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois

of representatives of communist countries in the UNO and other world organisations. The fundamental purpose behind these tactics of retreat is also evasion and concealment as stated by Lenin in LEFTWING COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER.—

> "To tie our hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy who at present is better armed than we are, whether we shall fight him, and when, is stupidity and not revolutionism. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and the political leader of the revolutionary class who is unable 'to tack, to manoeuvre, to compromise' in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle, is absolutely worthless."

There are many minor forms of tactics besides the major ones discussed above. Making all sorts of false, attractive and contradictory promises to every class, character-assassination and smear campaign against all opponents, provoking street riots and police action, sowing suspicion and discord amongst different classes, political parties and groups by an unceasing propaganda barrage on a sufficiently low level, and so on. Every crime, vice, sin, devilry, bestiality, treachery, backstabbing, lying and cheating is turned into heroism and martyrdom, provided the Party directs its perpetration in pursuance of the revolutionary objective The history of Communist movement everywhere is full of dark and sinister deeds done even by educated, well-bred, upright persons who lost their sense of absolute values under Party discipline and instructions. The road to hell is paved with good intentions!

The Communists, of course, believe that they work upon objective conditions which exist outside them and independent of them. But human mind, under the influence of a

1 Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. II Part II pages 403-4, Moscow, 1951.

legal work with illegal work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to the illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the party.

"5. The Communist representatives shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the party outside the parliament. *The regular proposing of demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the party and its Central Committee.**

"8. *Each Communist representative must remember that he is not a "legislator" who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether legal or illegal* *

"9. *The Communist representatives must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washer-woman, shepherd; so that the party may publish his speeches and spread them to the most remote villages of the country* "*

The emotional and tendencious speeches as well as the obstructionist behavior in general of our Communist M Ps and M. L. As in the newly constituted parliament and State Legislatures would amply prove that the Stalinist stalwarts are minutely and meticulously obeying the tactical instructions of the Comintern laid down 35 years ago. Incidently, these Theses would also explain the behaviour

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nomy is mutual exploitation and resultant production, if any, is a by-product.

"And like Nietzche's Zaruthustra they continue, 'We teach you war and civil war. If you are equally rich fight as class rivals. If you are unequally rich or poor, fight as class enemies. People with income of Rs. 100/- come out and gird up your loins. Fight and kill the people with Rs. 200/-. But if the fight is too much for you unaided, unite with people of Rs. 150/-, to kill the people with income above it and after that is done, you can kill the people above. Rs. 100/-. We have a name for it. Paralysis of Classes.

"They continue, 'Fight, kill; as long as you fight and kill, any reason is good enough, any cosmology is good enough, For as long as you are on the war path, you are on the right path. Never forget that fighting and killing and mutual destruction, somehow, by some inner compulsion, mysteriously and miraculously add up to the strength and growth of a society, to its pride and prosperity and happiness.'

Sri C. Rajagopalachari also analysed the usual Communist doubletalk and promises to every class in the speech referred obove He said.—

"Communists are the champions of landless labourers, of small peasant proprietors The bus owners must look to the communists as their champions. Passengers and N G.Os must also look up to the communists. Everybody, the middle classes and the upper middle classes and the small capitalist who is allotted a high place in the list is to be championed by the communists. Communists are at present champions of linguistic

dogma, very soon becomes capable of either seeing what does not exist or creating what should exist according to the dogma. Here we again feel tempted to quote from Sri R. Swarup's RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM:

> "They (Communists) say that their chance comes when those they have decided to subjugate, have become 'sufficiently entangled, and are sufficiently at loggerheads' with each other. Knowing what they want and what conditions can bring them what they want, they make every effort to bring about conditions that they know will bring them what they want. They go about sowing distrust and division among those they have decided to enslave.
>
> "On the basis of their 'contradictions', they invite the non-communist world to be locked in a mutually exhaustive, threefold, cross-struggle; industrially backward nations to fight industrially advanced nations, industrially advanced nations to fight amongst themselves, and people within each nations whether industrially advanced or backward to fight each other in what is called a 'revolutionary civil war' The task of the communist parties is to 'sharpen' these contradictions and help the non-communist world to come to a head and seek a 'revolutionary solution' of their contradictions by engaging in the threefold struggle corresponding to the three-fold contradictions.
>
> "They say to us 'Look, you are not producers, peasants, labourers, clerks, composers. shopkeepers, managers, engineers or teachers On the other hand, appearances notwithstanding, fundamentally, you are mutual exploiters, bourgeoisie, proletariat, imperialists and colonials, henchmen and paid agents, The fundamental thing about your eco-

understandable only after the nature of this relationship is fully grasped. The readers would know from the Chapter STRATEGY AND TACTICS included in this pamphlet that after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in a country, proletarian revolution enters the third stage, that is, the stage of supporting revolutions abroad. In this sense every communist dictatorship is an instrument, and a "base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries."

What Stalin has nowhere discussed in his basic writings is the responsibilities of revolutionary forces in non-communist countries towards the countries where dictatorship of the proletariat has already been established. He has, however, not departed from what he said on the death of Lenin in 1924.—

> "Lenin never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself. To him it was always a link needed to strengthen the chain of revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, a link needed to facilitate the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the *point of view of preserving the Soviet Republic itself.** Lenin knew that this alone could fire the working class people of the world to fight the decisive battles for their emancipation. That is why, on the very morrow of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he, the greatest of the geniuses who have led the proletariat, laid the foundations of the workers' International. This is why he never tired of extending and strengthening the union of the working people of the whole world—The Communist International."[1]

* Our italics—*ed.*

[1]. Lenin, Selected Works, *Vol. I Part I*, page 25, Moscow, 1952.

provinces. I remember the time when the communists were vigorously arguing against linguistic provinces as parochialism. At the present day the communists are champions of handloom industry, mill industry and of mill workers. I wish to point out that the championship of the handloom industry is in direct conflict with the ideology of the communists about mills, and mill workmen, their bonus and emoluments. There is an eternal, permanent and inherent conflict in the communist jargon between the handloom industry and the mills

"Again, the communists are the champions of economy in administration. They are the champions of retrenchment and at the same time the champions of the retrenched men also. Communists want economy, but they do not want retrenchment. Then again, Communists have become champions of Mangalasutram of women. There was a time when the communist doctrine had its own views about marriage. The Communist Party knew the trick of making compartments for all these. The communists want all Police Stations to be abolished. They want to have an easy walkover. I am sorry, I cannot oblige them!"[1]

VII

One very vital point which is of supreme importance in determining the Communist Party Line everywhere was deliberately left out by us in previous sections, that is, the relation of the Soviet Union with the Communist International and the duties and responsibilities of each towards the other. The Party Line would become perfectly

Hindu, July 4, 1952.

understandable only after the nature of this relationship is fully grasped. The readers would know from the Chapter STRATEGY AND TACTICS included in this pamphlet that after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in a country, proletarian revolution enters the third stage, that is, the stage of supporting revolutions abroad. In this sense every communist dictatorship is an instrument, and a "base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries."

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What does Stalin mean by this "point of view of preserving the Soviet Republic itself"? Reviewing the international situation in his Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the CPSU(B) in January 1934, he said:—

> "Still others, again, think that war should be organised against the USSR. Their plan is to defeat the USSR, divide up its territory and profit at its expense "[1]

This fear of the 'bourgeois' world plotting to destroy the revolution in Russia has been a constant obsession with Stalin, not because facts have been or are there to justify it, but mostly because his dogma tells him that capitalists must go to war to save their economy from collapse and that a war against the USSR would kill two birds with one stone Stalin, therefore, warned the 'war-mongering' bourgeoisie in the following words —

> "There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be the most dangerous for the bourgeoisie. It would be the most dangerous war not only because the peoples of the USSR would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution , *it would be the most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie for the added reason that it would be waged not only at the fronts, but also behind the enemy lines. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the USSR in Europe and in Asia would do their best to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who start a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries.** It can hardly be doubted that a second war against the USSR will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to

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1. Problems of Leninism, page 463, Moscow, 1947.

revolution in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois-landlord governments in those countries."[1]

While recounting the factors on which the USSR relies "in this difficult and complicated struggle for peace", Stalin said at the 17th Congress in 1934 and repeated at the 18th Congress in 1939, that one of the factors was "the moral support of the vast masses of the working class in every country who are vitally interested in the preservation of peace."[2]

We can, therefore, understand that the Communist International is pledged not only to world-revolution, but also to the preservation of the USSR against all foreign attacks. An appeal to the THESE, STATUTES and PROGRAMME of the Comintern reveals that preservation of the USSR is a greater revolutionary responsibility. One of the conditions for admission to the Communist International is as follows —

> "Each party desirous of affiliating to the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces The communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst troops sent against the workers' republics etc."

That this fear of "counter-revolutionary" attack on the USSR is real, is also admitted by one of the THESES on National and Colonial Questions. It says —

> "the political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dicta-

1 Ibid, pages 463-464

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torship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic."

Discussing the REVOLUTIONARY COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM, the PROGRAMME of the Communist International declared —

'The class struggle which hitherto was conducted in circumstances when the proletariat was not in possession of state power, is now being conducted on an enormous and really world scale; *the working class of the world has now its own state— the one and only fatherland of the international proletariat.*"

Elsewhere the PROGRAMME states —

"the internal consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR, the success achieved in the work of Socialist construction, the growth of the influence and authority of the USSR, among the masses of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies, signify, therefore, the continuation, intensification and expansion of the International Social Revolution."

And the PROGRAMME lays down the duties of the International Proletariat to the USSR as follows —

"*In view of the fact that the USSR is the only fatherland of the international proletariat* the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, *the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of Socialist Construction in the USSR and defend her against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all means in its power* '

Here it will do well to suspend the main argument and to discuss a subsidiary issue, namely, the part played by different sections or Communist Parties in the shaping of policies by the Communist International. Article No. 8 of the STATUTES reads as follows:—

> "The bulk of the work and responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lies with the Party of that Country where, in keeping with regulations of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence for the time being. The party of the Country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Executive Committee from each of the other ten or twelve largest communist parties The remaining parties and organisations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote."

The proletarian revolution on the Russian pattern was considered to be imminent in a number of western countries, especially Germany, when the Comintern was founded by Lenin in 1919 But no other revolution actually took place. And since the Soviet Union was the only country where Comintern was ever able to find residence, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), theoretically a section of the Comintern like (and on par with) any other Communist Party, came to occupy an increasingly privileged position. We have Stalin's own testimony regarding this development. Analysing his "differences with Bukharin on "*Comintern Question*", he said in 1929 —

> "How did our differences in this sphere begin? They began with Bukharin's theses at the Sixth

Congress (of the Comintern—our addition) on the international situation. As a rule, theses are first examined by the delegation of the C.P.S.U(B). In this case, however, that condition was not observed The theses, signed by Bukharin, were sent to the delegation of the C P S.U(B) at the same time that they were distributed to the foreign delegations at the Sixth Congress. But the theses proved to be unsatisfactory on a number of points The delegation of the C.P.S.U(B) was obliged to introduce about twenty amendments to the theses.

"This created a rather awkward situation for Bukharin. But who was to blame for that? Why was it necessary for Bukharin to distribute the theses to the foreign delegations before they had been examined by the delegation of the C.P S.U(B)? Could the delegation of the C P.S U(B) refrain from introducing amendments when the theses proved to be unsatisfactory? And so it came about that from the delegation of the C.P S.U(B) there issued what were practically new theses on the international situation, which the foreign delegations began to oppose to the old theses signed by Bukharin. Obviously, this awkward situation would not have arisen had not Bukharin been in a hurry to distribute his theses to the foreign delegations."[1]

One of the main points of difference was the question of discipline. Stalin said in the same speech —

"In Bukharin's theses no mention was made of the necessity of maintaining iron discipline in the Communist Parties. That also was a defect of no little importance. Why? Because in a period

1. Problems of Leninism, pages 244-245, Moscow, 1947.

when the fight against the Right deviation is being intensified, in a period when the slogan of purging the Communist Parties of opportunist elements is being carried into effect, the Right deviationists usually organise themselves into a faction, set up their own factional discipline and disrupt and destroy the discipline of the Party. In order to protect the Party from the factional sorties of the Right deviationists we must insist on iron discipline in the Party and on the unconditional subordination of Party members to this discipline. Without that there can be no question of waging a serious fight against the Right deviation. That is why the delegation of the C.P.S.U(B) introduced to Bukharin's theses an amendment to this effect, and this amendment was subsequently adopted by the Sixth Congress "[1]

Thus, we see that the Communist parties from outside the Soviet Union were reduced by 1929 to the status of "poor relations" whom the C.P.S.U(B) had not only to lead, but also to discipline. The rise of Fascism-Nazism and the defeat of the Spanish "revolution" forced most of Europe's leading communists to become refugees in Moscow and they bore the full brunt of Stalin's purges which broke out in 1937-38. About ninety percent of the leading foreign communists normally resident in Moscow as members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as political refugees, were either executed as "spies, saboteurs, wreckers, class enemies, mad dogs and deviationists" of some sort or another, or disappeared without trace. And the Comintern became an instrument of the Soviet Government, especially the Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and Defence

This degeneration of the Comintern was accompanied, or caused, by the transformation of the Soviet Union from

1 Ibid, page 245 Moscow, 1947.

the base of "international proletarian revolution" into a militarist and imperialist state which signed a secret protocol with Hitler in 1939 for annexations of territory in Europe and acquisition of a colonial Empire in Asia, and which later exacted the secret Yalta Agreement for annexations in the Far East, as its pound of flesh in exchange for a promise of war against Japan (which, of course, Russia never fought). The outcome was what Sri R. Swarup states in his RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM:—

> "To start with, in its expansive days, world communism cast Russia in its own image. But very soon this Russia acquired her own ambitions, shape and impulsion under the leadership of Stalin. Now this Stalinist Russia in order to perpetuate and expand, in turn, had to create world Communism in her own image.

> "It will not help anybody to confuse or misunderstand the true relations and the true order of primacy between these two forces Today Russia is not an instrument of world revolution, but world communism is an instrument of Russian national expansion. This reversal of roles is not a new thing in history. It has happened again and again. The author creates, but very soon that which is created acquires a life, purpose and drive of its own, many times driving the author to do its bidding The eternal Frankenstein'

> "This streamlined super-Imperialism is waging a two-front war one internally in individual countries through the local communists, the other internationally through its own organised military strength. The two are very well co-ordinated to achieve the same imperialist end."

VIII

That is why the organisation of the Cominform has been kept secret unlike that of the Comintern which was open and challenging in pursuance of Marx's declaration at the end of Communist Manifesto, "The Communists disdain to hide their aims". The world knows only a statement published in Pravda dated the 7th October, 1947 as under —

> "At the end of September, there took place in Poland a Conference of Information at which participated the following communist parties. Yugoslav C.P. (Comrades Kardelji and Djilas), Bulgarian Workers Party (Comrades Chervenko and Poptomov), Rumanian C.P. (Comrades Gheorghiudej and Ana Pauker); Hungarian C.P. (Comrades Farkar and Devai), Polish Workers Party (Comrades Gomulka and Mine); Bolshevik C.P. of the USSR (Comrade Zhdanov and Malenkov) French C.P. (Duclos and Fajon), Czechoslovakian C.P. (Comrades Slansky and Bachtovansky), Italian C.P. (Comrades Longo and Reale).
>
> "A report on the international situation was presented by Zhdanov. A report on the activities co-ordinating the Communist Parties was presented by Gomulka. On this question, the conference having in mind the negative phenomena produced by the absence of contact between the parties represented, decided to create an Information Bureau. The task of this office will consist in organising their activities on a basis of mutual agreement."

This Zhdanov report is the notorious document which laid the basis of communist aggression everywhere, created civil wars in Greece, China, Philipines, Indo-China and

Malaya, inspired a communist revolt in Indonesia and the Telengana campaign of arson, loot, murder and rape in India.

So, obviously, there is no question of the Cominform being only a simple 'Information Bureau' as claimed by Pravda's statement. On the contrary the Cominform constitutes the most important wheels in the organisation of world conquest by a combination of Russian diplomacy, military might and the Russian fifth-columns as represented by the various Communist Parties and the fellow-travelling fronts. An important study of the general Organisation of the cominform was made in 1950 by the "Journal De Geneve" based on information from various reliable sources The events that have followed since the study was made have on the whole confirmed the exactitude of this study.

At the head of the Cominform stands the Russian Polit-bureau controlled by Generalissimo Stalin and consisting of 14 members amongst whom three are most important; (a) Malenkov who directs the organisation of the C P.S.U (B) and allied communist organisations inside Russia. (b) Beria who controls the Surveillance and Security Services which depend upon the USSR Ministry of Security called M.G.B, and (c) Molotov who is the Supreme Commander of the Cominform in its activities outside Russia. Amongst others, Marshal Vorochilov directs military affairs, Mikoyan the Economic Services and Suslov, propaganda or agitation The departments of the Russian Government and the Cominform are so closely integrated that the Russian departmental head also controls the corresponding Cominform department.

According to the above mentioned study the Cominform Headquarters are installed in Bucharest in reserved premises and include nearly 1,000 officials It is divided into five principal departments —

Department No. 1 or Propaganda

In 1950 it was under the direction of Edvard Kohlman of USSR and counted 65 officials on its staff There are

sub-offices in Vienna as well as in Prague. This department has supreme control over the revolutionary activities in all countries which are divided into six zones or sub-sections namely:—

1. Slav States,
2. German States,
3. Latin States,
4. South American States,
5. Iberian States, and
6. Colonial States.

It is significant that the Anglo-Saxon states are left out in this zonal division. The explanation is Leninist-Stalinist thesis of "piercing the imperialist chain at its weakest links".

The leaders of the Third International wrote prophetically in July 1920 in their reply to the Independent Labour Party of Britain:

> "It is probable that upon the throwing off of the chains of the capitalist governments, the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will meet the resistance of Anglo-Saxon capitalism in the persons of British and American capitalists who will attempt to blockade it. It is then possible that the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will rise in union with peoples of the East and commence a revolutionary struggle, the scene of which will be the entire world, to deal a final blow to British and American capitalism."[1]

Department No. 2 or Economy and Finance:

In 1950, its head was Rudolf Slansky of USSR, and this department is especially entrusted with the task of co-ordination, that is to say, the alloting of funds received from Moscow and other communist states for strikes,

1 The Times, July 30, 1920.

sabotage and other help to various Communist Parties. A new political section under this department has been established in Prague and is called the Economic Bureau or E.K.O.U.

Department No. 3 or Political Department:—

It is perhaps the most important department of all and in 1950 it had 150 officials directly under Mikhail Suslov member of the Russian Politbureau. Its four most important sections are:

a) *Supervision,* which directs the activities of the diplomats and secret agents in all non-communist countries, acting through Russian and Satellite Embassies and Legations. It also controls the personal attitude of the Communist leaders in all countries and establishes black lists in view of a war or for liquidating the opponents and undesirables.

· b) *Infiltration,* whose supreme task is to set up communist cells in all trade unions,

c) *Youth,* which controls the various youth and pioneer movements in the universities, amongst the peasants and the working classes. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is directly under this section.

d) *Desinform,* or *Section of Religious Affairs* is mainly concerned with the Christian religion and directs the activities of various Red priests and patriarchs.

Department No. 4 or Bureau of Information and Enquiry—

In 1950 it had 50 officials working under Russian specialists in research, technical studies, documentary publications and compilation of se ret records. This Department works in direct collaboration with Department No. 5, described below and with the Secret Services of Red Army.

Department No. 5 or Military Bureau—

In 1950 it was headed by USSR General Kironov who was dependent upon USSR General Kovepack who in turn

was subordinate to the Russian General Staff. Employing about 350 officials it is divided into several sections e.g. Air, Armour, Artillery, Propaganda, International Brigades and Partisans. It is this department which is concerned with the setting up of various 'Liberation Armies' and despatch of 'Volunteers' of which we have had a classic example in Korea.

According to the *Communist Journal of Economic Questions of the Cominform*, the Communist Parties of the world had 23 million registered members in 1950 of which more than half are in non-communist countries. But we shall repeat that the number of members registered in a Communists Party is far from representing the true number of communists in a particular non-communist country, for there exists a large number of secret communists as well as fellow-travellers who work and vote for communists but who are not registered with the party. For instance, according to Edgar Hoover, Head of the FBI in the United States of America, although the American Communist Party numbers 54,000 registered members only, there are about 540,000 active communists in the U. S. A.

Here we shall also like to discuss the very important question of financing these world-wide communist fifth-columns of Soviet Russia, as it necessitates a budget of expenses nearly equal to that of a shooting war. Naturally the greater part of the finances is provided by the State Budgets of the communist states headed by the USSR. These funds are transmitted to foreign countries through the embassies and legations of the USSR and satellite nations. For this purpose, the USSR has declared a whole series of organisations such as the *Tass Agency* and the *Russian Cultural Organisations* abroad as 'State Organisations' having no connection with diplomacy but enjoying a pseudo-diplomatic status.

The origin of these funds is manifold and complex because of the fact that they are allotted for very defferent

designs in different areas and must remain absolutely secret. We give below some of the methods of raising and transmitting these funds —

(a) *From commerce of the USSR and of the satellite states.* There exist commercial agreements and commercial transactions between the non-communist countries and nations situated behind the Iron-certain. In communist countries all commerce is state controlled so that the Governments can easily have part of the money realised in foreign currencies at the disposal of their diplomatic services abroad for assisting Cominform activities. Recently our Minister for Commerce declared in the Parliament that the Soviet Exhibition in Bombay had sold goods worth 27 lakhs of rupees, and that the money had never been transmitted to Russia *

(b) *Special organisations trading with a deficit in order to accumulate foreign currencies for the actions of the Cominform.* This type of organisations are represented by the E K O.U or Economic Bureau mentioned above One of the methods employed for obtaining funds in foreign countries consists in ensuring the sale mostly at a loss, of products exported by the communist countries Czechoslovakia, as the leading industrial country behind the Iron-curtain, is chiefly entrusted with this effort, and the Office of E K O U is also established in Prague According to recent information the Czechoslav industries sold in the countries of Asia and even in West European countries, Czech motor cars for about 50,000 crowns apiece while the cost price of the car is 100,000 crowns and the sale price in Czechoslovakia itself is 200,000 crowns Similarly Bohemian glassware is sold in Western countries at prices sometimes 50% lower than of glass products by local industries. Most of the money thus obtained is given to the Communist Parties of different countries

* The exposure in our Parliament has resulted in immediate action by the Russian Embassy & according to a recent Tass report the money has been transmitted.

(c) *Monopoly of exports and imports with the countries situated behind the Iron-curtain is given to communist firms in non-communist countries.* The Italian Government discovered in 1949 that big sums of money had been banked by the Italian Communist Party owing to the fact that the Cominform had given the monopoly for imports and exports with Russia and the Satellites to a certain number of Italian communist firms. These firms are directed by men chosen by the Communist Party and assisted by technicians coming mostly from Central Europe. It was only when visas were asked for in Rome from these different 'technicians' that the Italian Government realised what was really happening. Similar methods are employed by the Cominform in every non-communist country

(d) *Gold transactions*—According to all reliable sources, Soviet Russia is the second biggest gold producing country and possesses gold reserves which, including those of Satellite governments in Europe and Asia, amount to about 8 billion dollars. This production and the reserves are made use of by the Soviet Government to achieve their political aims in non-communist countries Russia negotiates part of her gold production in the international market so as to obtain local currencies for financing the Communist Parties. According to official estimates the volume of Soviet gold transactions in the Near and Far East is about 100 million dollars per year, while a considerable mass of gold is smuggled and altogether escapes official control. The clandestine circulation of Soviet gold generally goes through Hongkong, Bombay, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Alexandria.

Controlled and financed in this way and ideologically committed to "defence of the Soviet Union against capitalist attacks and to "success of the socialist construction in the only fatherland of the world-proletariat", the Communist Parties outside the Iron-curtain have long ceased to be political associations and have become, in the

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> "So, we see that imperialism, monopoly-capitalism, fascism or democracy are not definite things or given quantities but highly changeable phenomena determined purely by temporary needs of Russian foreign policy. There are no socialists, communists, capitalists, democrats, fascists, imperialists, nationalists, bourgeoisie, proletariat, truthful men or scoundrels, but Russian needs make them so."

The nearest parallel is the International MAFIA which, starting as a peasant revolt against landlord oppression in Sicily, is now organised as a gangster racket smuggling drugs, contraband arms and unauthorised gold; carrying a world-wide traffic in women and supervising armed robberies, murders and every other conceivable crime in leading cities of the world.

IX

With the degeneration of the Comintern alias Cominform into an instrument of Russian imperialist expansion, the plan of "World Revolution" has also undergone a revision. Soviet Russia is no more interested in Communist revolutions in far-off countres where the Communist Parties my slip out of her stranglehold and start an independent endeavour. The Communist Parties of the world can, therefore, be divided into two sections, a) those which are active in countries on the borders of Stalin's Empire in Europe and Asia and b) those with whom no territorial link exists.

The Parties in the first category are directed to set up "Liberation Armies" equipped with Russian arms and guided by Russian advisers. One such "Liberation Army" has already conquered China, another met a debacle in Korea, and yet others are engaged in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma. India, Nepal and Persia are also thought to be mature for "Liberation Armies." The "Liberation Army"

fullest sense, criminal conspiracies for spying, sabotage, infiltration and softening inside non-communist countries in anticipation of eventual military conquest by Imperialist Russia.

We shall conclude this section by another quotation from Sri R. Swarup's RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM:

> "Communism elsewhere, as a branch of communism in Russia, suffered a deterioration unknown in history Colonial and socialist struggles in the hands of the communist parties lost their indegenous character and became counters in the chess-game of Russian foreign policy. When she entered an alliance with France against Germany, the communist leaders in French colonies were told to stop believing and preaching that France was an imperialist country When she entered into an alliance with Germany against the whole world, the communists everywhere were told to stop believing that Germany was a Fascist country, and, instead, begin preaching that the rest of the nations were fascists.
>
> "When, as a direct result of Soviet-Nazi Pact, Hitler felt encouraged to invade France and France fell, the French Communist party would not even mention Hitler or Germany, but explained the whole affair as an invasion of "foreign imperialism". They contributed to French weakness and consequent defeat by organising strikes in key war-industries.
>
> "Later on when Hitler turned on Russia and America became an ally, Browder, the communist leader of America contemptuously dismissed those who talked of American monopoly-capitalism and welcoming it said, 'Capital has a perfect right to monopolies itself.' The American communists 'dissolved' their party to allay the suspicions of the American public.

been adopted, partly because the Communist Party of India was threatened with collapse and disintegration as a result of the Ranadive line forced upon them by the Cominform in pre-Korea period of general offensive in Asia and saw a great opportunity in the general elections of 1951; but mainly, because Stalin's schedule in Asia was rudely disturbed by the debacle in Korea and Stalin needed India as a temporary ally or, at least, as a neutral quantity in the international balance of power. Whoever else may be confused, the Communist Party is completely clear about its future course. In their Statement of policy published on the eve of general elections, they say —

> "There are a large number of people who think that this Government can be replaced by a Peoples' Democratic Government by utilizing the Parliament ushered in by the new Constitution. Such feelings are encouraged and fed not only by this Government and the vested interests but even by the right-wing Socialists, who preach that the very fact of a strong opposition Party on the Parliamentary floor will shake the Government and make it topple down.
>
> "History, enlightened for us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, places before us its vast experience, arising out of struggles which have led the half of humanity to Socialism, freedom and real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union and in which the great Chinese and Peoples' Democracies join hands. Thus our main road is already charted out for us."

What is that main road? We should read Mao Tse Tung's massage to the "Indian people" in 1949, two years after we achieved independence. Stalin's satrap in China said.

> "The Indian people are one of the great Asian nationalities with a long history and a vast popu-

must be raised in provinces or zones directly linked with Stalin's Empire so that communication, help and control may be feasible, and the hard core my escape into safe territory if the enemy attempts an encirclement and offensive. That was the reason why the Chinese Reds marched 6000 miles from the heart of China and established themselves on the Northern Borders contiguous with Soviet territory. That was why Russia organised the 1945 Communist revolt in Azerbaijan province of Persia.

The Burmese, the Malayan and Viet-Minh Communists have direct links with Red China In Nepal, the "Liberation" would start from borders of Tibet, where a "Liberation Army" of Nepalese Communists and adventures is being actively organised In India, it would be a great mistake to attach too much importance to Telengana where the Communists have acquired a stranglehold. Of course, Telengana would be fully exploited for a behind-the-enemy-lines guerrilla warfare The ideal setting for India's 'Liberation Army' is Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and portions of East Punjab That is the meaning of Kashmir's latest bid for 'special status and the Communist support for Sheikh Abdulla's stand. The Kashmir National Conference is for all practical purposes a Communist organisation with most of its leaders being secret or overt Communists. A second "Liberation Army' for India would be raised in the North East. Bhutan and Sikkim are ripe to fall into the Communist lap at any time The North Bengal districts, predominantly Gurkha inhabited, are also excellent ground for Communist activity. And the province of Assam, with its floods, famines, Nagas and other hill tribes and because of her direct contiguity with Communist China & North Burma, is going to be the central pivot of this North Eastern "Liberation Army" which would link up with its North-Western counterpart via Nepal.

The presant policy of the Communist Party of India is an application of the tactics of retreat. This policy has

There is a secondary centre called the Supreme Communist Council having its seat in Hongkong. The activity of the Supreme Council is entirely directed by the Chinese and its membership is composed of 6 National Committees for activities in Indo-China, Siam Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, each including 5 directing members. Its task is to organise the Chinese populations in these different countries and secret communists are given a training course in Hongkong, before they become active in their respective countries.

There are centres of advanced action in Mandalay, in Bangkok and near the Chino-Viet Minh frontier, the exact location of which is still unknown. It is the responsibility of the Chinese to raise guerrilla forces called "liberation armies" such as are already active in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma. These liberation armies are reinforced with men and supplied with arms by Communist China who has a common frontier with Indo-China, Siam and Burma and also Malaya through Red-infested areas of North Burma.

The entire activities of these Cominform centres are under Russian direction. The main centre for Soviet political action is, of course, the Embassy of the USSR in Peking, but an advance centre for South East Asia is established in the Embassy of USSR at Bangkok which gives instructions to Communist Parties and distributes arms throughout the states of South East Asia as far as the Philippines. The Soviet political action is backed by military preparations in which Soviet Turkestan army and the Far East Army are to play a very strategic role. The Turkestan Army with its headquarters at Tashkent is entrusted with operations towards India, Sinkiang and Tibet (the last two of which have already passed behind the Iron-Curtain). The Far East Army with its headquarters in Vladivostok is entrusted with operations towards Burma, Malaya and Indo-China across South China.

lation; the country's fate in the past and her path in the future are similer to those of China in many respects.

"Like free China, a free India will one day emerge in the world as a member of the Socialist and democratic peoples' family. That day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind."[1]

The response of the Indian Communist Party is equally warm and optimistic:

"India is the last biggest dependent semi-colonial country in Asia still left for the enslavers to rob and exploit. But the Communist Party believes that India too will soon take its place in the great nations of the world as a victorious Peoples' Democracy and take the road of peace, prosperity and happiness."[2]

Here it would be of interest to give more specific attention to the Cominform Organisation in Asia, because the remaining non-Communist countries of South East Asia such as Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malaya and India are on the schedule of immediate conquest. The military and political support which China has undertaken to give Moscow for the conquest of South East Asia is an important factor in the whole design. The main centre, therefore, is the Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions for Asia and Australia settled in Peking since November, 1949, following the Congress of World Federation of Trade Unions. During this Congress the orders for the conquest of Southern Asia were given to the different sections of the Cominform concerned.

1. (R. Palme Dutt. The Indian Elections, Page 8, People's Publishing House Ltd., Bombay, March 1952).
2. (Programme of the Communist Party of India Page 24, October 1951).

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The effective integration of these conquests already made and to be made in due course, presents the USSR with serious problems of communications The Government of the USSR has, therefore, undertaken considerable work on the Trans-Siberian Railway which has now become, in the greater part, a double track rail-road. Nevertheless this Railway does not suffice and is too slow to ensure efficient commercial and military communications over these vast areas. The Soviet Government has, therefore, developed the vast aeronautical organisation called Aerofloat Its net-work covers more than 82,000 kilometers and includes about 100 air fields or landing grounds with others under construction The number of planes employed in this net-work is very considerable, and, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the annual Soviet aircraft production of approximately 20,000 planes is now allotted to the Aerofloat This network runs along the Arctic Ocean and covers Persia, Afganistan and the whole of Central Asia, China and North Korea

From the political point of view, the Aerofloat network assures the liason between all the countries of the communist block and carries continuously thousands of political agents and civilian agitators who are transported for propaganda actions in the Middle East India Pakistan, Burma etc , as well as innumerable civilian technicians who are flown across Siberia to all the Far East From the commercial point of view, it assures the transport of gold and funds as well as that of all kinds of merchandise and machinery

From the military point of view, the part played by the Aerofloat is equally important The Soviet High Command foresees that in war time the Russian armies in Europe and Asia would have to act independently, each one leaning on different industrial areas but they, nevertheless, consider it indispensable that a close liason should be

maintained between these armies and that they should be assured of being well-supplied. To this end, experiments are being continuously carried out throughout Aerofloat network. Various types of planes are tried and a considerable number of pilots are trained for long-distance flights. In peace times the Aerofloat network serves the purpose of dominating the satellite countries such as China, North Korea and Tibet

This readiness for and preparation of armed struggle, however, does not mean that Communists would miss an opportunity to sieze power by parliamentary methods and united front tactics, should such an opportunity exist anywhere. But abolition of parliaments and liquidation of non-communist parties is absolutely inevitable, is a minimum programme of all Communist Parties. The history of East European "Peoples' Democracies" is replete with these trojan-horse methods. The Communist parties were practically non-existent in most of these countries, but the Russian occupation forces brought Communist 'leaders' of each nationality from their hideout in Moscow and imposed them on each government Invariably, the Communists claimed and obtained Ministries of Interior and War so as to transform the Police and the Army everywhere into instruments of the eventual the Communist coup. Then followed the liquidation of Peasant and Socialist leaders in every coalition and a forced merger of Peasant and Socialist parties with the Communist parties. And in this way, these "Peoples' Democracies" became dictatorships of the Communists over the people. The same pattern would be followed whenever the other parties are not informed and vigilant and walk into the Communist trap of United Front, Coalition Government and Common Programme.

Equally inevitable is the liquidation of local Communists by the Russian M.V D. after these Communists have liquidated all other parties inside their countries and acqui-

The effective integration of these conquests already made and to be made in due course, presents the USSR with serious problems of communications The Government of the USSR has, therefore, undertaken considerable work on the Trans-Siberian Railway which has now become, in the greater part, a double track rail-road. Nevertheless this Railway does not suffice and is too slow to ensure efficient commercial and military communications over these vast areas. The Soviet Government has, therefore, developed the vast aeronautical organisation called Aerofloat Its net-work covers more than 82,000 kilometers and includes about 100 air fields or landing grounds with others under construction. The number of planes employed in this net-work is very considerable, and, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the annual Soviet aircraft production of approximately 20,000 planes is now allotted to the Aerofloat. This network runs along the Arctic Ocean and covers Persia, Afganistan and the whole of Central Asia, China and North Korea

From the political point of view, the Aerofloat network assures the liason between all the countries of the communist block and carries continuously thousands of political agents and civilian agitators who are transported for propaganda actions in the Middle East, India, Pakistan, Burma etc., as well as innumerable civilian technicians who are flown across Siberia to all the Far East From the commercial point of view, it assures the transport of gold and funds as well as that of all kinds of merchandise and machinery,

From the military point of view, the part played by the Aerofloat is equally important. The Soviet High Command foresees that in war time the Russian armies in Europe and Asia would have to act independently, each one leaning on different industrial areas; but they, nevertheless, consider it indispensable that a close liason should be

maintained between these armies and that they should be assured of being well-supplied. To this end, experiments are being continuously carried out throughout Aerofloat network. Various types of planes are tried and a considerable number of pilots are trained for long-distance flights. In peace times the Aerofloat network serves the purpose of dominating the satellite countries such as China, North Korea and Tibet.

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red dictatorial powers. The old Stalinist method of discovering deviations and forcing confessions is employed for eliminating local communists who are suspected of nationalism and patriotism or who show resistence to Russian exploitation Laszlo Rajk of Hungary, Gomulka of Poland, Traicho Kostov of Bulgaria, Rudolf Slansky and Clementes of Czechoslovakia and Ana Pauker of Rumania, all veteran Communist leaders of many years' stading, have been washed down the drain of Stalin's 'revolution' Tito and Kardelj alone escaped the M V D torture chambers. And the Chinese leaders are on the waiting list

The parties in the second category, that is, those in countries not directly linked with Stalin s Empire are used not for creating a revolution but as diplomatic counterweights, for sabotage, spying and other purposes of the cold war. In a world war, these parties will fight for Stalin inside their own countries and stab every national defence in the back. Thus, for instance, the Communist Parties in France and Italy are capable of capturing power immediately, but Stalin knows that either these revolutions would become independent or lead immediately to a world war, which he does not want before he has gathered the entire landmass of Europe and Asia under his heel, by peacemeal methods. So the French and Italian Communists lead abortive strikes and anti-American campaigns

In this sense, it can be said that Stalin has given up the goal of world revolution But his goal of world Empire has crept into its place and the language and instrumentalities used in either case are the sam

torship of the proletariat" as established in Russia, has, at least, abolished classes, exploitation and social injustice and ensured food, clothing, education and employment for everybody. We shold be prepared, they will argue, for all this treachery and travail, because the end result is so magnificent. This is, however, a question of facts and figures which are available in plenty for anyone who cares to know. No one need go to 'bourgeois', 'imperialist' 'American' or 'British' publications to know the truth about Russia. The entire picture can be built up by a close study and scrutiny of Moscow publications If "socialism" and "communism" at all mean an equalitarian and prosperous society, Stalin's Russia is as remote from them as the primitive gorilla from Dr. Einstein

Stripped of shibboleths and dragged out of our "left" intellectuals' guilt complex, the reality of Stalin's Communism compares very favourably with the reality of Nazism-Fascism. An unbriddled dictatorship, a monolithic party machine, extensive secret police, vast concentration camps, an economy planned for and geared to total war, a falling standard of living, a mass hysteria engendered by monopoly control of propaganda weapons, a calculated destruction of men's minds, an unquenchable thirst for world-empire, the far flung fifth-columns—from top to bottom they are the same phenomena. A proof positive of their identical spiritual content is the ease with which Nazi-Fascists and Stalinists have slipped into one another's uniform in both Italy and Germany.

In Stalin's Russia, class privilege has attained unprecedented proportions. On the one hand she *flaunts the* courtier class, consisting of Party, Police and Army bosses, propagandists and technicians who live in luxurious apartments, holiday in magnificent country *houses, move* about in streamlined limousines, eat and drink choicest food and wines and whose wives frequent beauty saloons and jewe-

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X

Quite a few people would see nothing wrong in Stalin s strategy and tactics because they believe that the ...

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In Stalin's Russia, class privilege has attained unprecedented proportions. On the one hand she flaunts the courtier class, consisting of Party, Police and Army bosses, propagandists and technicians who live in luxurious apartments, holiday in magnificent country houses, move about in streamlined limousines, eat and drink choicest food and wines and whose wives frequent beauty saloons and jewe-

llery shops in every capital city of the world. On the other hand, she has to hide the vast masses of pauperised proletariat and peasantry who are underfed, underclad and miserably housed, who slave without respite, without hope, but who have lost the right to complain as they could under the most primitive despot and who have to pretend before foreign visitors that by Stalin's grace, they enjoy an abundance of material welfare unknown anywhere in the benighted bourgeois world!

In Stalin's Russia, ten to fifteen percent of the population consisting of the privileged classes consumes more than fifty percent of the national income, a super-capitalist State exacts ultra-surplus value from proletarians and peasants who have not acquired the means of production, but who have lost their trade unions, their village MIRS, their right to organise, protest strike and revolt and who have to work on reduced real wages for longer hours!

In Russia, Stalin has planned and perfected an economy of want in which while the production of coal, oil, steel zinc, manganese, tractors and tanks keeps souring up, the supply of food, clothing and shelter continues to decline! As the number of co-operative and state stores and shops increases, their shelves become emptier and emptier and the queues outside them grow longer and longer like evening shadows! One has to see the wives and daughters of Soviet diplomats and consuls on the eve of their return home, pressing each other inside departmental stores of the bourgeois world, to buy more of soap and tooth paste as such things are scarce and costly in the Soviet Fatherland!

Stalin's Russia is a totalitarian tyranny overbrimming with ex-cathedra decrees of an unbridled despot, where all freedoms stand irrevocably abolished, where fundamental human rights are trampled under MVD's irresistible

jackboot, where there are no parliaments, no opposition parties, no law courts with juries, counsels and publicly known law codes, where the secret police may knock at any door at any hour to remove whole families into innumerable Lubiankas, where innocent people have to confess of having committed fantastic crimes, where ghastly purges take toll of thousands every year and where millions find themselves in Siberian slave labour camps, digging gold, felling timber, mining and transporting till death takes pity on their carcases!

In Stalin's Russia, there is place only for court poets, who rhyme and sing to Stalin's eternal glory, there are painters and sculptors whose brush and chisel are devoted to bestowing youth and beauty upon an ugly and aging paymaster; there are novelists, dramatists and cinema-directors who take orders from the Politbureau, revise and rewrite and withdraw their work, confess errors and outdo each other in a maddening orgy of denunciation and chest-beating, there are campaigners of hate who receive peace prizes, there are charlatans whose scientific achievments are paraded in a thousand newspapers and periodicals; there are patriots according to whom nothing was ever invented or discovered by non-Russians and there are party liners according to whom comrade Stalin is the greatest philosopher, scientist, linguist, poet and artist of all ages!

Stalin's Russia is an imperialist monster who while whipping up an hysterical patriotism inland, is irrevocably committed to world-conquest, who while preaching political morality, peace and international law, steals and conquers foreign territory, turning independent nations into satellites, who forcibly removes foreign wealth into her coffers and foreign nationals into her slave-gangs for digging Volga-Don canals, who destroys the hard-core of nationalism everywhere and imposes her home-trained puppets, his imperial colonial trade, his forced collectivi-

sation and slave labour camps, his language and culture and from whose slavery there remains no escape till his head is scotched by some greater power!

This manifold degeneration of the Soviet Union is symbolised in the rise of intense national chauvinism. we give a few examples P Y Vyshinsky, a Russian writer, censured internationalism in the following words, in his article "Soviet Patriotism—The Moving Force of the Development of Socialist Society" written in Sovitskom Sotsialisticheskom Obschestvo, published from Moscow in 1948 —

> "Humanism,—they say—is a higher ideal than patriotism The interests of humanity, it is said, are higher and more worthwhile than the interests of one's fatherland. Science is international—they say—and therefore, it is said, it makes no difference where, when, and in what conntry a scientific discovery or a technical invention was made. In the epoch of developing international relations and connections any discovery, it is said, will in the end become the general property of all countries...
>
> "All these 'discourses' are false sophism, concocted for the hypocritical justification of their lack of ideas, their ideological-political backwardness and ignorance, and of a hardened individualism, of a forgetting of their duty and responsibility before the Soviet people, the Soviet state, and Soviet science
>
> 'This abstract 'humanism' and 'internationalism' are lies, through and througn, which shroud the fact that the world is divided into two camps · the camp of socialism and democracy and the camp of decaying, dying capitalism and imperialism. *In these conditions, genuine humanism consists*

first of all in care about the socialist fatherland (the USSR), which alone is the embodiment of the ideals of humanism, the bulwark of freedom, and democracy, the hope of all leading and progressive mankind."*

Another Moscow Magazine, "Literary Gazette" dated January 1, 1949 wrote as under regarding the "Great Language of our Epoch":

> "Latin was the language of the ancient world and the early Middle Ages. French was the language of the ruling class of the feudal epoch. English became the world language of capitalism. Looking ahead into the New Year, into the future, we see the Russian tongue as the world language of socialism "

A dialectical explanation of "Soviet patriotism" is provided by the magazine "Bolshevik" in its issue dated November 18, 1947 --

> "Soviet patriotism and national pride are based on the realization of the world-historic significance of the successes of socialism and of the leading part of this country and her people in the world history of mankind. The feeling of Soviet national pride is based on the understanding of the great and unequalled superiority of Soviet culture, ideology, science and morals."

As a result, all scientific inventions, all geographical discoveries and every bit of pioneer work in the field of science, art, literature, adventure, travel, sports etc., have been claimed by the Russians as their own contributions, which the "bourgeois" West has either stolen or copied. And to top the edifice is the cult of Stalin, "the leader, father and teacher of the working class of the

* Our italics—ed.

whole world." SOVIET STATE AND LAW, No. 4, 1950 says:—

> "Comrade Stalin is the greatest Marxist, the greatest Leninist, the brilliant continuer of the great cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin....All the most important questions of scientific socialism, political economy, philosophy, law, governmental, economic, and cultural construction, military affairs, literature and art have received the utmost development in the works of Comrade Stalin."

As early as 1st February, 1935 Pravda carried the speech and photograph of a writer Avdeyenko, entitled "Why I Applaud Stalin' Some portions are quoted below —

> "Centuries shall elapse and the communist generations of the future will deem us the happiest of all mortals that have inhabited this planet throughout the ages, because it is we who have seen Stalin, the leader, genius, Stalin the sage, the smiling, the kindly, the supremely simple .
>
> "When I met Stalin, even at a distance, I throbbed with his forcefulness, his magnetism and his greatness I wanted to sing, to shriek, to howl from happiness and exaltation.
>
> "Our love, our devotion, our strength, our heart, our heroism, our life—all these are thine, great Stalin' Here take them, all this is thine, chief of great fatherland. Dispose of them, thy sons, capable of heroic feats in the air, under the earth, on the waters, and in the stratosphere .
>
> "Men of all times and of all nations shall call by thy name all that is beautiful, strong, wise and

pretty. Thy name is and shall remain on every factory, every machine, every bit of land, and in the heart of every man .

"When my beloved will bear me my child, the first word I shall teach him will be—STALIN!

"I am not infected with any disease, I am strong, I cherish in my bosom the very finest human feelings: love, devotion, honesty, self-sacrifice, heroism, disinterestedness—all thanks to thee, great educator Stalin! I write books, I am a writer, I dream of creating a work which will never be forgotten, I love a girl in a new way, I procreate my kind, and it shall be a happy one all thanks to thee, great educator Stalin...

"I am happy, full of joy of living, I am unshakably bold, I go to sleep with greatest sorrow, I wake up happy, I will live to be 100 years old, my hair will turn white, but I will remain eternally happy and radiant—all thanks to thee, great educator Stalin.

"I can fly to the moon, travel to the Arctic, invent a new machine, for my creative energy is not trampled by anybody—all thanks to thee, great educator Stalin. .

Songs like the following are *written* in homage to Stalin:—

'O great Stalin, O leader of the peoples,
Thou who broughtest man to birth,
Thou who fructifiest the earnth,
Thou who restorest the centuries,
Thou who makest bloom the spring,

Thou who makest vibrate the musical cords.
Thou, splendour of my spring, O Thou,
Sun reflected by millions of hearts...[1]

'I would have compared him to a white mountain—
but the mountain has a summit.

I would have compared him to tho depths of the
sea—but the sea has a bottom.

I would have comparod him to the shinning moon—
but the moon shines at midnight, not at
noon.

I would have compared him to the brilliant sun—
but the sun radiates at noon, not at mid-
night.[2]

All this treachery and betrayal does not become obvious to the communists outside the Iron Curtain, partly, because a communist only shouts slogans without thinking, distributes literature which he never reads and indulges in dirty, malicious abuse when invited for discussion, but, mainly, because the whole communist indoctrination leads to an acceptance of double standards, double-talk, double-think. The best illustration is communist attitude to war as defined by Lenin —

"If war is waged by the exploiting class with the object of strengthening its class rule, such a war is a criminal war and defencism in such a war is a base betrayal of socialism. If war is waged by the proletariat after it has conquered the bourgeoisie in its own country and is waged with

1. Pravda, August 28, 1936.
2 Znamye (Soviet Authors' Union Monthly) October, 1946

the object of strengthening and extending socialism such a war is legitimate and holy".

So the spread of Stalin's slave empire becomes for the communists the spread of "socialism" "proletarianism" and all other slogan-worlds, till they are picked up by the Russian MVD at dead of night, tortured and made to confess that they had been Anglo-American spies, saboteurs, wreckers, mad-dogs, cosmopolitans, individualists, humanists, Titoists, Trotskyites, monarchists, fascists and many other forms of "evil" ever since their mothers conceived them. Thus, the police action against Nizam by the Indian Union become an "imperialist" crime, while the rape of the Republic of Korea and Tibet was only "liberation." Thus, the communist leaders in France, Italy and even far off Australia declared publicity that if Soviet troops enter their countries, the "proletariat" would heartily welcome them!

But why should the non-communists indulge in cock and bull stories about an imagined communism which Stalin is supposedly trying to achieve? Because some of us do not care to know the truth, because we are intellectually lazy, morally indifferent and spiritually undecided. The pious political illiterates felt outraged at the doings of Hitler and his Nazis and thought that Hitler had betrayed them when, in actual fact, the Great Dictator was only practising what he sincerely believed, and what he had candidly and honestly stated in his MIEN KAMPF years before he came to power. There is a lesson for us in this precedent If we do not agree with the goal and path of Stalin, let us make up our mind right now and start doing all we can to defeat the communist movement in our country and the world. If we isolate, expose and defeat Stalin's fifth-columns masquerading as "proletariat" and "people" under our noses, in our homes, schools, fields,

factories and everywhere else, Stalin would have to pause, ponder and finally give up his goal of World Conquest in Instalments.

*   *

I am deeply grateful to Shri Gouri Shankar Mohta for preparing the Notes which appear at the end of this book and to Shri D. C. Dutt for his extreme care in reading the proofs.

SITA RAM GOEL

9, P. K. Tagore Street,
Calcutta,
9.8.52.

SOVIET EXPANSION SINCE 1939.

Territories Annexed.		Area. (Sq. Miles)	Population. (before annexation).
1.	Rumanian Provinces	19,087	3,700,000
2.	Estonia	18,022	1,122,000
3.	Latvia	25,019	1,951,000
4.	Lithuania	21,178	2,957,000
5.	Northern East Prussia	5,323	1,187,000
6	Eastern Czechoslovakia	4,829	731,000
7.	Eastern Poland	68,821	11,800,000
8	Finnish Provinces	17,338	450,000
9	Tannu Tuva	63,041	65,000
10	Japanese Possessions	17,528	433,000
	TOTAL ...	260,186	24,396,000
SATELLITES CONTROLLED.			
11.	Albania	10,909	1,186,000
12	Bulgaria	42,167	7,160,000
13	Czechoslovakia*	48,555	12,463,000
14.	Eastern Germany	42,243	18,807,000
15	Hungary	35,361	9,224,000
16	Poland*	118,555	24,500,000
17	Rumania*	90,190	16,007,000
18	China	3,688,327	450,000,000
19	Outer Mongolia	616,388	2,000,000
20	North Korea	47,757	9,100,000
	TOTAL	4,740,452	550,447,000
	TOTAL SOVIET DOMINATED:	5,000,638	574,843,000

* Parts not annexed

SEE MAP INSIDE (countries identified by numbers as listed above)

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I

THEORY

From this theme I take three questions:

a) the importance of theory for the proletarian movement,

b) criticism of the "theory" of spontaneity[1] ;

c) the theory of the proletarian revolution.

1. *The importance of theory* Some think that Leninism is the precedence of practice over theory in the sense that its main point is the translation of the Marxian theses into deeds, their "execution", as for theory, it is alleged that Leninism is rather unconcerned about it. We know that Plekhanov[2] time and again chaffed Lenin about his "unconcern" for theory, and particularly for philosophy. We also know that theory is not held in great favour by many present-day Leninist practical workers, particularly in view of the immense amount of practical work imposed upon them by present circumstances I must declare that this more than odd opinion about Lenin and Leninism is quite wrong and bears no relation whatever to the truth; that the attempt of practical workers to brush theory aside runs counter to the whole spirit of Leninism and is fraught with serious dangers to the cause

Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for theory, and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation,

for his own time in his remarkable work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*[3]. It is well known that Plekhanov, who loved to chaff Lenin about his "unconcern" for philosophy, did not even dare to make a serious attempt to undertake such a task.

2. *Criticism of the "theory" of spontaneity, or the role of the vanguard in the movement.* The "theory" of spontaneity is a theory of opportunism, a theory of worshipping the spontaneity of the labour movement, a theory which actually repudiates the leading role of the vanguard of the working-class, of the party of the working-class.

The theory of worshipping spontaneity is decidedly opposed to the revolutionary character of the working-class movement, it is opposed to the movement taking the line of struggle against the foundations of capitalism; it stands for the idea of the movement proceeding exclusively along the line of "realizable" demands, of demands "acceptable" to capitalism; it stands entirely for the "line of least resistance." The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade unionism

The theory of worshipping spontaneity is decidedly opposed to lending the spontaneous movement consciousness and system It is opposed to the idea of the Party marching at the head of the working-class, of the Party raising the masses to the level of consciousness, of the Party leading the movement, it stands for the idea that the conscious elements of the movement must not hinder the movement from taking its own course, it stands for the idea that the Party is only to heed the spontaneous movement and follow in its tail. The theory of spontaneity is the theory of belittling the role of the conscious element in the movement, the ideology of "*khvostism*[4]"—the logical basis *of all* opportunism.

In practice this theory, which appeared on the scene even before the first revolution in Russia, led its adherents, the so-called "Economists[5]," to deny the need for an

and an understanding of the inner relation of current events; for it and it alone, can help practice to discern not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well-known thesis that

"*Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement*"* (Vol. IV, p. 380.)

Lenin, better than anyone else, understood the great importance of theory, particularly for a Party such as ours, in view of the role of vanguard fighter of the international proletariat which has fallen to its lot, and in view of the complicated internal and international situation in which it finds itself. Foreseeing this special role of our Party as far back as 1902, he thought it necessary even then to point out that

"*The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.*" (Vol. IV, p. 380.)

It need hardly be proved that now, when Lenin's prediction about the role of our Party has come true, this thesis of Lenin's acquires particular force and particular importance.

Perhaps the most striking expression of the great importance which Lenin attached to theory is the fact that none other than Lenin undertook the very serious task of generalizing, in line with the materialist philosophy, the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as of subjecting to comprehensive criticism the antimaterialistic trends among Marxists. Engels said that "materialism must assume a new aspect with every new great discovery." It is well known that none other than Lenin accomplished this task

* My italics—*J. S.*

for his own time in his remarkable work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*[3]. It is well known that Plekhanov, who loved to chaff Lenin about his "unconcern" for philosophy, did not even dare to make a serious attempt to undertake such a task.

2. *Criticism of the "theory" of spontaneity, or the role of the vanguard in the movement.* The "theory" of spontaneity is a theory of opportunism, a theory of worshipping the spontaneity of the labour movement, a theory which actually repudiates the leading role of the vanguard of the working-class, of the party of the working-class.

The theory of worshipping spontaneity is decidedly opposed to the revolutionary character of the working-class movement, it is opposed to the movement taking the line of struggle against the foundations of capitalism; it stands for the idea of the movement proceeding exclusively along the line of "realizable" demands, of demands "acceptable" to capitalism; it stands entirely for the "line of least resistance." The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade unionism.

The theory of worshipping spontaneity is decidedly opposed to lending the spontaneous movement consciousness and system It is opposed to the idea of the Party marching at the head of the working-class, of the Party raising the masses to the level of consciousness, of the Party *leading the movement*, it stands for the idea that the conscious elements of the movement must not hinder the movement from taking its own course, it stands for the idea that the Party is only to heed the spontaneous movement and follow in its tail. The theory of spontaneity is the theory of belittling the role of the conscious element in the movement, the ideology of "khvostism[4]"—the logical basis of *all* opportunism.

In practice this theory, which appeared on the scene even before the first revolution in *Russia*, led its adherents, the so-called "Economists[5]," to deny the need for an

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independent workers' party in Russia, to oppose the revolutionary struggle of the working-class for the overthrow of Tsardom, to preach a purely trade-unionist policy in the movement, and, in general, to surrender the labour movement to the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie

The fight of the old *Iskra*[5] and the brilliant criticism of the theory of "khvostism" in Lenin's pamphlet *What Is To Be Done*[7] ? not only smashed so-called Economism, but also created the theoretical foundations for a truly revolutionary movement of the Russian working class

Without this fight it would have been quite useless even to think of creating an independent workers' party in Russia and of its playing a leading part in the revolution

But the theory of worshipping spontaneity is not an exclusively Russian phenomenon It is extremely widespread—in a somewhat different form, it is true—in all the parties of the Second International[8], without exception I have in mind the so-called "productive forces" theory[9] debased by the leaders of the Second International—a theory that justifies everything and conciliates everybody, that records facts and explains them only after everyone has become sick and tired of them, and, having recorded them, rests content Marx said that the materialist theory could not confine itself to explaining the world, that it must also change it But Kautsky[10] and Co are not concerned with this, they prefer to rest content with the first part of Marx's formula

Here is one of the numerous examples of the application of this "theory." It is said that before the imperialist war the parties of the Second International threatened to declare "war against war[11]" if the imperialists should start a war. It is said that on the very eve of the war these parties pigeonholed the "war against war" slogan and applied an opposite slogan, viz, "war for the imperialist fatherland" It is said that as a result of this change of slogans millions of workers were sent to their death. But it would be a

mistake to think that there must have been people who were to blame for this, that someone was unfaithful to the working class or betrayed it. Not at all! Everything happened as it should have happened. Firstly, because the International, it is alleged, is "an instrument of peace," and not of war. Secondly, because, *in view of the "level of the productive forces" which then prevailed*, there was *nothing* else that could be done. The "productive forces" are "to blame." This is the precise explanation vouchsafed to "us" by Mr. Kautsky's "productive forces theory." And whoever does not believe in this "theory" is not a Marxist. The role of the parties? Their importance for the movement? But what can a party do against so *decisive* a factor as the "level of the productive forces"?...

One could cite a host of similar examples of the *falsification* of Marxism.

It is hardly necessary to prove that this spurious "Marxism," *designed* to hide the nakedness of *opportunism*, is merely a European variety of the selfsame theory of "khvostism" which Lenin fought even before the first Russian revolution.

It is hardly necessary to prove that the demolition of this theoretical falsification is a prerequisite for the creation of truly revolutionary parties in the West.

3. *The theory of the proletarian revolution.* The Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution proceeds from three fundamental theses.

First Thesis: The domination of finance capital in the advanced capitalist countries; the issue of stocks and bonds as one of the principal operations of finance capital; the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, which is one of the foundations of *imperialism*; the omnipotence of a financial oligarchy, which is the result of the *domination of* finance capital—all this reveals the grossly parasitic character of monopolist capitalism, makes the yoke of the capitalist trusts and syndicates a hundred times more burdensome,

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two fronts against imperialism: the front of the revolutionary proletariat and the front of colonial emancipation. (See *Imperialism.*)

Hence the third conclusion: that under imperialism wars cannot be averted, and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

Lenin combines all these conclusions into one general conclusion that "*imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution*"* (Vol. XIX, p 71)

The very approach to the question of the proletarian revolution, of the character of the revolution, of its scope, of its depth, the scheme of the revolution in general, changes accordingly.

Formerly[13], the analysis of the prerequisites for the proletarian revolution was usually approached from the point of view of the economic state of individual countries. Now, this approach is no longer adequate Now the matter must be approached from the point of view of the economic state of all or the majority of countries, from the point of view of the state of world economy, for individual countries and individual national economies have ceased to be self-sufficient units, have become links in a single chain called world economy, for the old "cultured" capitalism has evolved into imperialism, and imperialism is a world system of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the vast majority of the population of the earth by a handful of "advanced" countries

Formerly it was the accepted thing to speak of the existence or absence of objective conditions for the proletarian revolution in individual countries, or, to be more precise, in one or another developed country Now this point of view is no longer adequate. *Now we must speak*

* My italics—J S.

it intensifies the indignation of the working class with the foundations of capitalism, and brings the masses to the proletarian revolution as their only salvation. (See Lenin, *Imperialism*[12].)

Hence the first conclusion intensification of the revolutionary crisis within the capitalist countries and growth of the elements of an explosion on the internal, proletarian front in the "mother countries"

Second Thesis The increase in the export of capital to the colonies and dependent countries, the expansion of "spheres of influence" and colonial possessions until they cover the whole globe, the transformation of capitalism into a *world system* of financial enslavement and colonial oppression of the vast majority of the population of the earth by a handful of "advanced" countries—all this has, on the one hand, converted the separate national economies and national territories into links in a single chain called world economy, and, on the other hand, split the population of the globe into two camps a handful of "advanced" capitalist countries which exploit and oppress vast colonies and dependencies, and the vast majority consisting of colonial and dependent countries which are compelled to fight for their liberation from the imperialist yoke (See *Imperialism*)

Hence the second conclusion intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries and growth of the elements of revolt against imperialism on the external, colonial front

Third Thesis The monopolistic possession of "spheres of influence" and colonies, the uneven development of capitalist countries, leading to a frenzied struggle for the redivision of the world between the countries which have already seized territories and those claiming their "share"; imperialist wars as the only means of restoring the disturbed "equilibrium"—all this leads to the intensification of the struggle on the third front, the intercapitalist front, which weakens imperialism and facilitates the amalgamation of the first

*of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front at its weakest link; and it may turn out that the country which has started the revolution, which has made a breach in the front of capital, is less developed in a capitalist sense than other, more developed, countries, which have, however, remained within the framework of capitalism.**

In 1917 the chain of the imperialist world front proved to be weaker in Russia than in the other countries. It was there that the chain gave way and provided an outlet for the proletarian revolution. Why? Because in Russia a great popular revolution was unfolding, and at its head marched the revolutionary proletariat, which had such an important ally as the vast mass of the peasantry who were oppressed and exploited by the landlords. Because the revolution there was opposed by such a hideous representative of imperialism as tsarism, which lacked all moral prestige and was deservedly hated by the whole population. The chain proved to be weaker in Russia, although that country was less developed in a capitalist sense than, say, France or Germany, England or America

Where will the chain break in the near future? Again, where it is weakest. *It is not precluded that the chain may break, say, in India. Why? Because that country has a young, militant, revolutionary proletariat, which has such an ally as the national liberation movement—an undoubtedly powerful and undoubtedly important ally Because there the revolution is confronted by such a well-known foe as foreign imperialism, which lacks all moral credit and is deservedly hated by the oppressed and exploited masses of India.**

It is also quite possible that the chain will break in Germany Why? Because the factors which are operating, say, in India are beginning to operate in Germany as well; *

* Our italics—ed. It may be noted that while Stalin made this statement in 1924, it is still regarded as valid because according to Communist thinking India is still under foreign imperialism,

*of the existence of objective conditions for the revolution in the entire system of world imperialist economy as an integral unit,** the existence within this system of some countries that are not sufficiently developed industrially cannot serve as an insurmountable obstacle to the revolution, *if* the system as a whole, or, more correctly, *because* the system as a whole is already ripe for revolution.

Formerly it was the accepted thing to speak of the proletarian revolution in one or another developed country as of a separate and self-sufficient entity opposing a separate national front of capital as its antipode. *Now we must speak of the world proletarian revolution* * for the separate national fronts of capital have become links of a single chain called the world front of imperialism, which must be opposed by a common front of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

Formerly the proletarian revolution was regarded exclusively as the result of the internal development of a given country. Now, this point of view is no longer adequate. *Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the imperialist world front in one country or another* *

Where will the revolution begin? Where, in what country, can the front of capital be pierced first?

Where industry is more developed, where the proletariat constitutes the majority, where there is more culture, where there is more democracy—that was the reply usually given formerly.

No, objects the Leninist theory of revolution, *not necessarily where industry is more developed,* and so forth. The front of capital will be pierced where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for *the proletarian revolution is the result*

* Our Italics—*ed.*

capitalism. This interval is usually calculated to extend over many decades, if not longer. It is hardly necessary to prove that this Chinese Wall "theory" is totally devoid of scientific meaning under the conditions of imperialism, that it is and can be only a means of concealing and camouflaging the counterrevolutionary aspirations of the bourgeoisie. It is hardly necessary to prove that under the conditions of imperialism, which is pregnant with collisions and wars, under the conditions of the "eve of the socialist revolution," when "flourishing" capitalism is becoming "moribund" capitalism (*Lenin*) and the revolutionary movement is growing in all countries of the world; when imperialism is allying itself with all reactionary forces without exception, down to and including tsarism and serfdom, thus making imperative the coalition of all revolutionary forces, from the proletarian movement of the West to the national liberation movement of the East, when the overthrow of the survivals of the regime of feudal serfdom becomes impossible without a revolutionary struggle against imperialism—it is hardly necessary to prove that the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a more or less developed country, must under such circumstances verge upon the proletarian revolution, that the former must pass into the latter The history of the revolution in Russia has provided palpable proof that this thesis is correct and incontrovertible It was not without reason that Lenin, as far back as 1905, on the eve of the first Russian revolution, in his pamphlet *Two Tactics*,[14] depicted the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution as two links in the same chain, as a single and integral picture of the sweep of the Russian revolution

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze

but, of course, the enormous difference in the level of development between India and Germany cannot but stamp its imprint on the progress and outcome of a revolution in Germany.

That is why Lenin said that

"The West-European capitalist countries are consummating their development towards Socialism not by the gradual 'maturing' of Socialism, but by the exploitation of some countries by others, by the exploitation of the first of the countries to be vanquished in the imperialist war combined with the exploitation of the whole of the East. On the other hand, precisely as a result of the first imperialist war, the East has been definitely drawn into the revolutionary movement, has been definitely drawn into the general maelstrom of the world revolutionary movement." (Vol. XXVII, p. 415-16)

Briefly, the chain of the imperialist front must, as a rule, give way where the links are weaker and at all events, not necessarily where capitalism is more developed, where there is such and such a percentage of proletarians and such and such a percentage of peasants and so on.

*That is why in deciding the question of proletarian revolution statistical estimates of the percentage of the proletarian population in a given country lose the exceptional importance so eagerly attached to them by the bigotted doctrinaires of the Second International, who have not understood imperialism and who fear revolution like the plague.**

To proceed. The heroes of the Second International asserted (and continue to assert) that between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution there is a chasm, or at any rate a Chinese Wall, separating one from the other by a more or less protracted interval of time, during which the bourgeoisie, having come into power, develops capitalism, while the proletariat accumulates strength and prepares for the "decisive struggle" against

* Our italics—*ed.*

"The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows. it is not enough for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses should understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; it is essential for revolution that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the *'lower classes' do not want* the old way, and when the 'upper classes' *cannot carry on in the old way* – only then can revolution triumph. This truth may be expressed in other words *revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters)*.* It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it, secondly, that the ruling classes should be passing through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics ... weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly" (Vol XXV, p 222)

But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country *does* not yet mean that the complete victory of Socialism *has* been ensured. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry in tow, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of Socialism, i e, does it mean that with the forces of only one country it can finally consolidate Socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention and, consequently, also against restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least *several countries* is needed. *Therefore, the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore, the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an auxiliary, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries*.**

* My italics—J. S.

** Our italics—ed.

the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks of the proletariat, which the new *Iskra*-ists present so narrowly in all their arguments and resolutions about the sweep of the revolution." (Lenin Vol. VIII, p. 96)

I do not even mention other, later works of Lenin's, in which the idea of the bourgeois revolution passing into the proletarian revolution stands out in greater relief than in *Two Tactics* as one of the cornerstones of the Leninist theory of revolution *

To proceed. Formerly, the victory of the revolution in one country was considered impossible, on the assumption that it would require the combined action of the proletarians of all or at least of a majority of the advanced countries to achieve victory over the bourgeoisie Now this point of view no longer accords with the facts Now we must proceed from the possibility of such a victory, for the uneven and spasmodic character of the development, of the various capitalist countries under the conditions of imperialism, the development, within imperialism, of catastrophic contradictions leading to inevitable wars, the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world—all this leads, not only to the possibility, but also to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries. The history of the Russian Revolution is direct proof of this. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be successfully accomplished only when certain absolutely necessary conditions exist, in the absence of which there can be even no question of the proletariat taking power.

Here is what Lenin says about these conditions in his pamphlet *"Left-Wing" Communism* :—

* Here we omit eighteen paras of Stalin's lecture, three quotations from Lenin and one from Marx because they refer to a domestic controversy between Leninists, the controversy about "Permanent Revolution". Our purpose is to present Stalin's own thought.—*ed.*

II

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

From this theme I take six questions:

a) strategy and tactics as the science of leadership in the class struggle of the proletariat;

b) stages of the revolution, and strategy,

c) the flow and ebb of the movement, and tactics;

d) strategic leadership;

e) tactical leadership;

f) reformism and revolutionism.

1. *Strategy and tactics as the science of leadership in the class struggle of the proletariat.* The period of the domination of the Second International was mainly a period of the formation and training of the proletarian political armies amidst conditions of more or less peaceful development. This was the period when parliamentarism was the principal form of class struggle. Questions of great class conflicts, of preparing the proletariat for revolutionary battles, of the means of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, did not seem to be on the order of the day at that time. The task was confined to utilizing all means of legal development for the purpose of forming and training the proletarian armies, to utilizing parliamentarism in conformity with the conditions under which the status of the proletariat was (and as it seemed then, had to remain) that of an Opposition It need hardly be proved that in such a period and with such a conception of the tasks of the proletariat there could be neither an integral strategy nor any elaborated tactics. There were fragmentary and detached ideas about tactics and strategy, but no tactics or strategy as such.

Lenin expressed this thought succinctly when he said that the task of the victorious revolution is to do "the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*." (Vol. XXIII, p 385)

These, in general, are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution

2. *Stages of the revolution, and strategy. Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution.*

*Our revolution already passed through two stages, and after the October Revolution it has entered a third stage. Our strategy changed accordingly.**

First Stage. 1903 to February 1917. Objective to overthrow tsarism and completely wipe out the survivals of medievalism. The main force of the revolution· the proletariat. Immediate reserves. the peasantry. Direction of the main blow. the isolation of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, which was striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by *compromising* with tsarism. Plan for the disposition of forces. alliance of the working class with the peasantry. "The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, Vol. VIII, p. 96.)

Second Stage March 1917 to October 1917. Objective. to overthrow imperialism in Russia and to withdraw from the imperialist war. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserves· the poor peasantry. The proletariat of neighbouring countries as probable reserves. The protracted war and the crisis of imperialism as the favourable factor. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks[19] and Socialist-Revolutionaries[20]), who were striving to win over the toiling masses of the peasantry and to terminate the revolution by *compromising* with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces alliance of the proletariat with

* Our italics—ed.

The mortal sin of the Second International was not that it pursued the tactics of utilizing the parliamentary forms of struggle, but that it overestimated the importance of these forms; that it considered them virtually the only forms; and that when the period of open revolutionary battles set in and the question of extraparliamentary forms of struggle came to the fore, the parties of the Second International turned their backs on these new tasks, refused to shoulder them.

Only in the subsequent period, in the period of direct action by the proletariat, in the period of proletarian revolution, when the question of overthrowing the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate action; when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy) became one of the most burning questions, when all forms of struggle and of organization, parliamentary and extraparliamentary (tactics), had fully manifested themselves and became well-defined—only in this period could an integral strategy and elaborated tactics for the struggle of the proletariat be drawn up. It was precisely in that period that Lenin brought out into the light of day the brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy that had been immured by the opportunists of the Second International. But Lenin did not confine himself to restoring certain tactical propositions[16] of Marx and Engels He developed them further and supplemented them with new ideas and propositions, combining them all into a system of rules and guiding principles for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin's pamphlets, such as *What Is To Be Done ? Two Tactics, Imperialism, State and Revolution*[17], *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*,[18] *"Left-Wing" Communism*, etc , will undoubtedly always be treasured as priceless contributions to the general store of Marxism, to its revolutionary arsenal. The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

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the poorest peasantry. "The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the semiproletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie." (*Ibid.*)

Third Stage. Commenced after the October Revolution. Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the defeat of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country, the epoch of world revolution has commenced. The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semiproletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International, which constitute the main support of the policy of *compromise* with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries.

*Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the passing of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout a given stage.**

3. *The flow and ebb of the movement and tactics.* Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc While the

* Our italics—ed

object of strategy is to win the war against tsarism, let us say, or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics pursue less important objects, for the object of tactics is not the winning of the war as a whole, but the winning of some particular engagement or some particular battles, the carrying through successfully of some particular campaigns or actions which correspond to the concrete circumstances in the given period of rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it.

Tactics change according to flow and ebb. While the strategic plan remained unchanged during the first stage of the revolution (1903 to February 1917), tactics changed several times during that period. In the period from 1903 to 1905 the Party pursued *offensive tactics*,* for the tide of the revolution was rising, the movement was on the upgrade, and tactics had to proceed from this fact. Accordingly, the forms of struggle were revolutionary, corresponding to the requirements of the *rising tide* of the revolution. Local political strikes, political demonstrations, the general political strike, boycott of the Duma,[21] insurrection, revolutionary fighting slogans—such were the successive forms of the struggle during that period. These changes in the forms of struggle were accompanied by corresponding changes in the forms of organization. Factory committees, revolutionary peasant committees, strike committees, Soviets of workers' deputies, a workers' party operating more or less openly—such were the forms of organization during that period.

In the period from 1907 to 1912 the Party was compelled to resort to *tactics of retreat*;* for we then experienced a decline in the revolutionary movement, the ebb of the revolution, and tactics necessarily had to take this fact

* Our italics—*ed.*

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geois states hostile to the proletarian state, which can be utilized by the proletariat in its offensive or in manoeuvring in the event of a forced retreat.

There is no need to speak at length about the reserves of the first category, as their significance is understood by everyone. As for the reserves of the second category, whose significance is not always clear, it must be said that sometimes they are of prime importance for the progress of the revolution One can hardly deny the enormous importance, for example, of the conflict between the petty-bourgeois democrats (Socialist-Revolutionaries) and the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie (the Constitutional-Democrats)[22] during and after the first revolution, which undoubtedly played its part in freeing the peasantry from the influence of the bourgeoisie. Still less reason is there for denying the colossal importance of the fact that the principal groups of imperialists were engaged in a deadly war during the period of the October Revolution, when the imperialists, engrossed in war among themselves, were unable to concentrate their forces against the young Soviet power, and the proletariat, for this very reason, was able to get down to the work of organizing its forces and consolidating its power, and to prepare the rout of Kolchak[23] and Denikin[24] It must be presumed that now, when the contradictions among the imperialist groups are becoming more and more profound and when a new war among them is becoming inevitable, reserves of this description will assume ever greater importance for the proletariat.

The task of strategic leadership is to make proper use of all these reserves for the achievement of the main object of the revolution at the given stage of its development.

What does making proper use of reserves mean?

It means fulfilling certain necessary conditions, of which the following must be regarded as the principal ones

into consideration The forms of struggle, as well as the forms of organization, changed accordingly: instead of the boycott of the Duma there was participation in the Duma; instead of open, direct revolutionary action outside the Duma, there were parliamentary speeches and work in the Duma, instead of general political strikes, there were partial economic strikes, or simply a lull in activities. Of course, the Party had to go underground during that period, while the revolutionary mass organizations were superseded by cultural, educational, cooperative, insurance and other legal organizations

The same must be said of the second and third stages of the revolution, during which tactics changed dozens of times, whereas the strategical plans remained unchanged.

Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organization of the proletariat with their changes and combinations During a given stage of the revolution tactics may change several times depending on the flow or ebb, the rise or decline of the revolution *

4. *Strategic leadership* The reserves of the revolution can be

direct a) the peasantry and in general the intermediate strata of the population within the country, b) the proletariat of the neighbouring countries, c) the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries, d) the conquests and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat—part of which the proletariat may give up temporarily, while retaining superiority of forces, in order to buy off a powerful enemy and gain a respite, and

indirect: a) the contradictions and conflicts among the nonproletarian classes within the country, which can be utilized by the proletariat to weaken the enemy and to strengthen its own reserves, b) contradictions, conflicts and wars (the imperialist war, for instance) among the bour-

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What does making proper use of reserves mean ?

It means fulfilling certain necessary conditions, of which the following must be regarded as the principal ones

*First. The concentration of the main forces of the revolution at the enemy's most vulnerable spot at the decisive moment,** when the revolution has already become ripe, when the offensive is going full-steam ahead, when insurrection is knocking at the door, and when bringing the reserves up to the vanguard is the decisive condition of success. The Party's strategy during the period from April to October 1917 well illustrates this manner of utilizing reserves Undoubtedly, the enemy's most vulnerable spot at the time was the war Undoubtedly, it was on this question, as the fundamental one, that the Party rallied the broadest masses of the population around the proletarian vanguard. The Party's strategy during that period was, while training the vanguard for street action by means of manifestations and demonstrations, to bring the reserves up to the vanguard through the medium of the Soviets in the rear and the soldiers' committees at the front The outcome of the revolution has shown that the reserves were properly utilized.

Here is what Lenin, paraphrasing the well-known theses of Marx and Engels on insurrection, says about this condition of the strategic utilization of the forces of the revolution:

"1) Never *play* with insurrection, but when beginning it, firmly realize that you must *go to the end*.

"2) You must concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point, at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organization, will destroy the insurgents.

"3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination*, and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. 'The defensive is the death of every armed rising.'

"4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

"5) You must strive for *daily* successes, even if small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain *'moral ascendancy.'* " (Vol. XXI, pp. 319-20)

* Our italics—*ed.*

*Second The selection of the moment for the decisive blow, of the moment for starting the insurrection,** so timed as to coincide with the moment when the crisis has reached its climax, when it is fully apparent that the vanguard is prepared to fight to the end, the reserves are prepared to support the vanguard, and maximum consternation reigns in the ranks of the enemy.

The decisive battle, says Lenin, may be deemed to have fully matured *when* "(1) all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle which is beyond their strength"; *when* "(2) all the vacillating, wavering, unstable intermediate elements - the petty bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois democrats as distinct from the bourgeoisie—have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their practical bankruptcy"; *when* "(3) among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favour of supporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow Then revolution is indeed ripe, then, indeed, if we have correctly gauged all the conditions indicated above, and if we have chosen the moment rightly, our victory is assured." (Vol. XXV p 229)

The manner in which the October insurrection was carried out may be taken as a model of such strategy.

Failure to observe this condition leads to a dangerous error called "loss of tempo," when the Party lags behind the movement or runs far ahead of it, courting the danger of failure. An example of such "loss of tempo," an example of how the moment of insurrection should not be chosen, may be seen in the attempt made by a section of our comrades to begin the insurrection by arresting the Democratic Conferences in September 1917, when hesitation was still rife in the Soviets, when the armies at the front were still at the crossroads, when the reserves had not yet been brought up to the vanguard.

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*Third Undeviating pursuit of the course adopted, no matter what difficulties and complications are encountered on the road towards the goal** this is necessary in order that the vanguard may not lose sight of the main goal of the struggle and that the masses may not stray from the road while marching towards that goal and striving to rally around the vanguard. Failure to observe this condition leads to a grave error, well known to sailors as "losing the course." As an example of this "loss of course" we may mention the erroneous conduct of our Party when, immediately after the Democratic Conference, it adopted a resolution to participate in the Preparliament.[26] For the moment the Party, as it were, forgot that the Preparliament was an attempt of the bourgeoisie to switch the country from the path of the Soviets to the path of bourgeois parliamentarism, that the Party's participation in such a body might result in mixing up all the cards and confusing the workers and peasants, who were waging a revolutionary struggle under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets"[27] This mistake was rectified by the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks from the Preparliament

*Fourth Manoeuvring the reserves with a view to effecting a proper retreat when the enemy is strong** when retreat is inevitable, when to accept battle forced upon us by the enemy is obviously disadvantageous, when, with the given alignment of forces, retreat becomes the only way to ward off a blow against the vanguard and to keep the reserves intact

"The revolutionary parties," says Lenin, "must complete their education. They have learned to attack Now they have to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented with the knowledge how to retreat properly. They have to realize—and the revolutionary class is taught to realize it by its own bitter experience—that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly" (Vol XXV, p 177.)

* Our italics—*ed.*

*The object of this strategy is to gain time, to demoralize the enemy, and to accumulate forces in order later to assume the offensive.**

The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace[28] may be taken as a model of this strategy, for it enabled the Party to gain time, to take advantage of the conflicts in the camp of the imperialists, to demoralize the forces of the enemy, to retain the support of the peasantry, and to accumulate forces in preparation for the offensive against Kolchak and Denikin

"In concluding a separate peace," said Lenin at that time, "we free ourselves as much as is *possible at the present moment* from both hostile imperialist groups, we take advantage of their mutual enmity and warfare, which hamper concerted action on their part against us, and for a certain period have our hands free to advance and to consolidate the socialist revolution" (Vol XXII, p 198.)

"Now even the biggest fool," said Lenin, three years after the Brest Litovsk Peace, "can see that the 'Brest Peace' was a concession that strengthened us and broke up the forces of international imperialism." (Vol XXVII, p. 7)

Such are the principal conditions which ensure correct strategic leadership.

5. *Tactical leadership*. Tactical leadership is a part of strategic leadership, subordinated to the tasks and the requirements of the latter. *The task of tactical leadership is to master all forms of struggle and organization of the proletariat and to ensure that they are used properly so as to achieve, with the given relation of forces, the maximum results necessary to prepare for strategic success.**

What is meant by making proper use of the forms of struggle and organization of the proletariat?

It means fulfilling certain necessary conditions, of which the following *must* be regarded as the principal ones.

* Our italics—*ed*.

*First. To put in the forefront precisely those forms of struggle and organization which are best suited to the conditions prevailing during the flow or ebb of the movement at a given moment,** and which therefore can facilitate and ensure the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions, the bringing of the millions to the revolutionary front, and their disposition at the revolutionary front.

The point here is not that the vanguard shall realize the impossibility of preserving the old order of things and the inevitability of its overthrow. The point is that the masses, the millions, shall understand this inevitability and display their readiness to support the vanguard. But the masses can understand this only from their own experience The task is to enable the vast masses to realize from their own experience the inevitability of the overthrow of the old regime, to promote such methods of struggle and forms of organization as will make it easier for the masses to learn from experience to recognize the correctness of the revolutionary slogans

The vanguard would have become detached from the working class, and the working class would have lost contact with the masses, if the Party had not decided at the time to participate in the Duma, if it had not decided to concentrate its forces on work in the Duma and to base the struggle on this work, in order to make it easier for the masses to realize from their own experience the futility of the Duma, the falsity of the promises of the Constitutional-Democrats, the impossibility of compromise with tsarism, and the inevitability of an alliance between the peasantry and the working class Had the masses not gained their experience during the period of the Duma, the exposure of the Constitutional-Democrats and the hegemony of the proletariat would have been impossible

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* Our italics—*ed.*

The danger of the "Otzovist"[28] tactics was that they threatened to detach the vanguard from the millions of its reserves.

The Party would have become detached from the working class, and the working class would have lost its influence among the broad masses of the peasants and soldiers, if the proletariat had followed the "left" Communists, who called for insurrection in April 1917, when the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries had not yet exposed themselves as advocates of war and imperialism, when the masses had not yet learned from their own experience to recognize the falsity of the speeches of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries about peace, land and freedom. Had the masses not gained this experience during the Kerensky[30] period, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries would not have been isolated and the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible. Therefore, the tactics of "patiently explaining" the mistakes of the petty-bourgeois parties and of open struggle in the Soviets were the only correct tactics.

The danger of the tactics of the "left" Communists[31] was that they threatened to transform the Party from the leader of the proletarian revolution into a handful of inane conspirators with no ground to stand on.

"Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone," says Lenin. "To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it ... would be not merely folly but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of the working people and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. For this the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions, now confirmed with astonishing force and vividness not only in Russia but also in Germany. Not only the uncultured, often illiterate masses of Russia, but the highly cultured, entirely literate masses of Germany had to realize through their own painful experience the absolute impotence and spinelessness, the absolute helplessness and servility

to the bourgeoisie, the utter vileness of the government of the knights of the Second International, the absolute inevitability of a dictatorship of the extreme reactionaries (Kornilov in Russia, Kapp and Co in Germany) as the only alternative to a dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to turn them resolutely toward Communism." (Vol. XXV, p 228.)

Second. *To locate at any given moment that particular link in the chain of processes which, if grasped, will enable us to hold the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success* *

The point here is to single out from all the problems confronting the Party that particular immediate problem, the answer to which constitutes the central point, and the solution of which will ensure the successful solution of the other immediate problems

The importance of this thesis may be illustrated by two examples, one of which may be taken from the remote past (the period of the formation of the Party) and the other from the immediate present (the period of the New Economic Policy).

In the period of the formation of the Party, when the innumerable circles and organizations had not yet been linked together, when amateurishness and the parochial outlook of the circles were corroding the Party from top to bottom, when ideological confusion was the characteristic feature of the internal life of the Party, the main link and the main task in the chain of links and in the chain of tasks then confronting the Party prove to be the establishment of an all-Russian illegal newspaper (*Iskra*). Why? Because only by means of an all-Russian illegal newspaper was it possible under the conditions then prevailing to create a coherent Party nucleus capable of uniting the innumerable circles and organizations into a single organization, to prepare the conditions for ideological and tactical unity, and thus to lay the foundations for the formation of a real Party

* Our italics—*ed.*

During the period of transition from war to economic construction, when industry was in the clutches of ruin and agriculture was suffering from a shortage of manufactured goods, when the establishment of a bond between state industry and peasant economy became the fundamental condition for successful socialist construction—in that period it turned out that the main link in the chain of processes, the main task among a number of tasks, was to develop trade. Why? Because under the conditions of the New Economic Policy (NEP) the bond between industry and peasant economy cannot be established except through trade, because under the conditions of NEP production without sale is fatal for industry; because industry can be expanded only by the expansion of sales as a result of developing trade, because only after we have consolidated our position in the sphere of trade, only after we have secured control of trade, only after we have secured this link can there be any hope of linking industry with the peasant market and successfully fulfilling the other immediate tasks in order to create the conditions for building the foundations of socialist economy.

"It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of Socialism or a Communist in general," says Lenin. "One must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link."

"At the present time this link is the revival of internal *trade* under proper state regulation (direction). Trade—*that* is the 'link' in the historical chain of events, in the transitional forms of our socialist construction in 1921-22 '*which we must grasp with all our might*'" (Vol XXVII, p. 82)

These are the principal conditions which ensure correct tactical leadership.

6. *Reformism and revolutionism.* What is the difference between revolutionary tactics and reformist tactics?

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* Our italics—ed.

*The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.**

*This is what making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism means.**

*The reformist, on the contrary, will accept reforms in order to renounce all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for the revolution and to rest in the shade of "bestowed" reforms.**

*This is what reformist tactics mean.**

This is the position in regard to reforms and agreements under imperialism.

*The situation changes somewhat, however, after the overthrow of imperialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under certain conditions, in a certain situation, the proletarian power may find itself constrained temporarily to leave the path of the revolutionary reconstruction of the existing order of things and to take the path of its gradual transformation, the "reformist path,"** as Lenin says in his well-known article "The Importance of Gold,"33 the path of flanking movements, of reforms and concessions to the nonproletarian classes—in order to disintegrate these classes, to give the revolution a respite, to recuperate and prepare the conditions for a new offensive It cannot be denied that in a sense this is a "reformist" path But it must be borne in mind that there is a fundamental distinction here, which consists in the fact that in this case the reform emanates from the proletarian power, it strengthens the proletarian power, it procures for it necessary respite, its purpose is to disintegrate, not the revolution, but the nonproletarian classes

Under such conditions a reform is thus transformed into its opposite.

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* Our italics—*ed.*

Some think that Leninism is opposed to reforms, opposed to compromises and to agreements in general. This is absolutely wrong. Bolsheviks know as well as anybody else that in a certain sense "every little helps," that under certain conditions reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular, are necessary and useful.

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie" says Lenin, "a war which is a hundred times more difficult protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manœuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme? Is it not as though, when making a difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain, we were to refuse beforehand ever to move in zigzags, ever to retrace our steps, ever to abandon the course once selected and to try others?" (Vol. XXV, p 210)

Obviously, therefore, it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use people make of reforms and compromises

To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash That is why, with reformist tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that regime, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution *

To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms, to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are naturally transformed into instruments for disintegrating this regime, into instruments for strengthening the revolution, into a base for the further development of the revolutionary movement *

* Our italics—ed.

NOTES

1 **Theory of Spontaneity.**

This was a theory prevalent in a section of Russian labour movement known as Economists in the beginning of the 20th century. Lenin vehemently attacks this theory in his pamphlet 'What Is To Be Done'.

According to Economists, the working-class movement must remain confined to the spontaneous economic struggles of the workers and they must not take part in any political struggle for Socialism. Or trade unions should follow the policy of trade unionism as such and should have nothing to do with political activities.

Thus they gave comparatively more importance to the regulation of spontaneous economic struggle of the workers, than to the political struggles, for the betterment of the workers' lot.

2 **Plekhanov. (1857-1918)**

Russian theoretician of Marxism, respected even by Lenin. His writings were considered second only to those of Engels in Marxist literature. In the beginning he joined underground Populist Movement as a labour organiser and editor, became a Marxist, and came into prominence in 1890 by writing a book on Historical Materialism.

In 1900, together with Lenin he began to publish abroad Iskra (The Spark) which soon became Russian Social Democratic Partys' Official Organ. Party Programme of 1903 was also drafted by him along with Lenin. In the following years there was a split in the Party and he remained with the minority group—the Mensheviks and was a consistant opponent of Bolsheviks. He wrote polemics against all revisionists of Marxism.

The proletarian power is able to adopt such policy because, and only because, the sweep of the revolution in the preceding period was broad enough and therefore provided a sufficiently wide expanse within which to retreat, substituting for offensive tactics the tactics of temporary retreat, the tactics of flanking movements.

*Thus, while formerly, under the bourgeois regime, reforms were a by-product of revolution, now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the source of reforms is the revolutionary gains of the proletariat,** the reserves accumulated in the hands of the proletariat and consisting of these gains.

"Only Marxism," says Lenin, "has precisely and correctly defined the relation of reforms to revolution. However, Marx was able to see this relation only from one aspect, namely, under the conditions preceding the first to any extent permanent and lasting victory of the proletariat, if only in a single country. Under those conditions, the basis of the proper relation was, reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat ... After the victory of the proletariat, if only in a single country, something new enters into the relation between reforms and revolution. In principle, it is the same as before but a change in form takes place, which Marx himself could not foresee, but which can be appreciated only on the basis of the philosophy and politics of Marxism. .. After the victory (while still remaining a 'by-product' on an international scale) they (i.e. reforms, J. S.) are, in addition, for the country in which victory has been achieved, a necessary and legitimate respite in those cases when, after the utmost exertion of effort, it becomes obvious that sufficient strength is lacking for the revolutionary accomplishment of this or that transition. Victory creates such a 'reserve of strength' that it is possible to hold out even in a forced retreat, hold out both materially and morally." (Vol. XXVII, pp. 84-85.)

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* Our italics—*ed.*

from Munich, then from London (from April 1902) and from spring 1903, from Geneva.

The editorial Board consisted of Lenin, Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, Potresov and Zasulich.

At the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1903, it became the official organ of the Party. The struggle over the composition of the editorial board at this Congress was one of the reasons for the split into majority (Bolsheviks) and minority (Mensheviks) factions.

Lenin resigned from the editorial Board and the paper came into the hands of Mensheviks. Lenin termed this Iskra as the New Iskra. It ceased publication in Oct. 1905.

7. **What Is To Be Done.**

This book was written by Lenin in 1902 and is regarded as a classic in Marxist literature.

In this book Lenin takes issues with the tendency prevalent in a section of the working-class movement known as Economism according to which the task of the workers' movement is to give attention to the spontaneous economic struggles of the workers and to refrain from joining political activities. Against them, Lenin emphasises the conscious political role of the working class and advocates the great importance of theory, of consciousness, and of the party as the revolutionary and guiding force of the spontaneous working-class movement.

Developing further the role of the party, he deals with its organisational aspects, insists on the urgency of building up revolutionary political cadres, and welding them together into a disciplined army of revolutionaries and makes an impassioned appeal to scrap the existing form of organizations and build a theoretically sound party, revolutionary in purpose and national in scope.

The concepts of centralised party and professional Revolutionaries, advanced in this book, have been adopted by all the Communist Parties.

After the Revolution he returned to Russia, but could not find support for his programme. He died in 1918.

3. **Materialism and Empirio—Criticism.**

This is the only major philosophical work of Lenin. It was published in May 1909.

This book was written against the philosophical theories of his adversaries in Socialist movement of Russia, particularly against Bogdanov, Bazarov, Lunacharsky, Berman etc.

These persons were trying to revise Marxism, taking inspirations from the writings of Mach and Avenarius.

Lenin here defends Dialectical Materialism against the so-called vulgarizers, falsifires and deserters of Marxism, also taking into consideration the recent discoveries of science after Engles' death.

4. **Khvostism,** means following the tail, from the Russian world Khvost, meaning tail. Lenin was emphatic about a Party leading the masses rather than following them.

5. **The Economists.**

A section of the Russian working-class movement whom Lenin criticised in his pamphlet "What Is To Be Done."

They believed that the economic interests are the decisive factors and hence to regulate spontaneous economic struggle of the workers is of much more importance than the political struggle.

6. **The Iskra. (Spark)**

Was the first All-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper founded by Lenin and Plekhanov in 1900.

Due to police persecution, this paper was published abroad. Its first issue appeared on Dec. 11th. (Russian Calendar) 1900, in Leipzig, after which it was published

9 Productive Forces Theory.

One of the major theoretical foundations of Marxism is the theory of Materialistic interpretation of History or Historical Materialism. According to Marxists it uncovers the laws of the development of the human Society. The two central concepts of this theory are Productive forces and Relations of Production.

Marx writes "The Social *Relations of Production*, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the *productive forces*. The relations of production in their totality constitute what are called the social relations, society and specifically, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a society with a peculiar, distinctive character—Feudal Society, Bourgeois Society etc." (Selected Works. P. 83-84)

In his preface to the Critique of Political Economy, Marx formulates his theory more clearly. He writes :—

"In the social production of their life men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of the material *productive forces* The sum total of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite froms of social consciousness ..... At a certain stage of their development, the material *productive forces* of Society come in conflict with the existing relations of production .. .... .from forms of development of the *productive forces* these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of Social Revolutions " (P 328-329 selected works).

10 **Karl Kautsky.** (1854—1938)

Karl Kautsky was a German Marxist and Historian of Socialism. He was a friend and disciple of Karl Marx and

8. The Second International. (Socialist)

The Second International was constituted in 1889, 15 years after the disappearance of the first. Unlike the first, it possessed no powerful central authority and its early meetings were mainly devoted to discussion of the tactics and methods of the affiliated national parties; from 1911 onward the question of war and peace received more attention The International Socialist Bureau, the most important body of the International, met for the last time at its headquarters in Brussels on July 29th and 30th, 1914 War put an end to all International activities

Certain abortive attempts were made to revive International action Attempt to convene an International Congress at Stockholm in 1917, failed But the conferences at Zimmerwald (Sept 15) and Kienthal (April 16th.) were attended by certain groups and from these elements emerged the Communist or Third International

After the war, conferences were successively summoned at Berne (Feb. 1919) Lucenne (Aug 1919) and Geneva (Aug 20) with a view to reestablish the Second International

Meanwhile, however, the Third International had been formed at Moscow Some of the parties and groups who were unwilling to be affiliated to either the Second or the Third grouped themselves in what is known as 'Vienna International or Two-and-a-Half International

The outstanding leaders of the second International were Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Freiderich Adler, Scheidemann, Noskes, Hilferding, Renner, Austerlitz, Turati, Longuet etc.

In May 1923, representatives of the Second and Vienna Internationals jointly invited a conference in which 620 delegates from 30 countries participated It was decided to dissolve the two Internationals and form in its place the Labour and Socialist International (L S I) This body continued in existence until 1945

of Imperialism or monopoly capitalism developed in this book is regarded as the direct continuation of Marx's theory of capitalism. In this book Lenin also developed *his theory of Proletarian Revolution and Dictatorship of* the Proletariat, which came to be known as Leninism.

13 Formerly.

The expression "Formerly" is used several times in the chapter. Although Stalin offers no explanation, obviously the reference is to the theory of proletarian revolution as propounded by Marx and Engels The purpose is to bring *out by contrast the salient features of Lenin's contributions* to the theory. It may however be noticed by the leader that the "contributions" amount to a virtual reversal of every thesis advanced by the Founding Fathers.

14. Two Tactics of Social Democracy.

This book was written by Lenin in 1905.

It is based on the decision of Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic *Labour Party* which met in London in April 1905

In the Congress only the majority faction of the party, known as Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, participated. The minority faction known as Mensheviks held their conference in Geneva.

Both the factions discussed tactical questions on the eve of 1905 Revolution, but the decisions they arrived at were diametrically opposed.

The tactics, which Bolsheviks decided and Lenin advocated was that only the Proletariat could be the leader of this revolution in alliance with peasantry. The liberal bourgeiosie must be isolated as it was not interested in the completion of the Revolution. Against this the Menshevik tactics, which Lenin here criticises, was that as the revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution only the bourgeoisie could be its leader, and the proletariat must ally itself with the bourgeoisie.

after the death of Engels was universally regarded as the most important interpreter of Marxian thought. He was also a leader of the Second International.

His book on Russia in 1906, evoked great praise from Lenin and carried a preface by Lenin in its Russian translation, but later writings and activities of Kautsky angered Lenin, who wrote a pamphlet 'Proletarian Revolution: And Renegade Kautsky', abusing and slandering Kautsky.

Kautsky adopted a pacifist attitude towards World War I and continued to write books and essays against theories of Lenin and Trotsky and later against Stalin's Russia. After Nazi occupation of Vienna he fled to Czechoslovakia and again to Amsterdam, where he died in 1938

His works include—Democracy and Dictatorship—From Democracy to State Slavery—The Labour Revolution—The Proletarian Revolution—Bolshevism at a Deadlock—Soviet Russia and the Socialist International—The Limitations of Force etc. Between 1927—37 he published a several volume work on Socialism which was praised throughout the World

11. **"War Against War."**

Reference is to the manifesto adopted by The Basle Congress of the Second International held in November 24-25, 1912. The Congress was convened in connection with the Balkan War and the growing menace of World War. The manifesto called upon the workers to use their organised power for a revolutionary struggle against the threat of war, urging them to declare "War Against War."

12. **Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism.**

This book was written by Lenin in Zurich in the spring of 1916. Materials collected in Hobson's book on Imperialism were used as basis in the preparation of this work

This book is considered by the Communists as one of the most important major works of Lenin and his theory

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others, on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat".

Page. 61 —We reproduce the twelve paras which form the concluding section No IV of the Communist Manifesto—

"Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working-class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working-class but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally

15. Left-Wing Communism : An Infantile Disorder.

This book was written by Lenin, on April 27th 1920, after the Russian Revolution.

This was written as a polemic against a section of the Communist parties all over the world, known as left-wing of the Communist movement These left-wings advocated a policy of non-co-operation with all non-Communist organisations such as Parliaments and Trade Unions under non-communist control, and were for the adoption of a purely revolutionary and illegal programme

Lenin characterised this Left-wing Communism as an infantile disorder and advocated the combination of both legal and illegal activities and co-operation with even non-Communists as a tactics for the achievement of Communism.

16. Tactical Propositions of Marx and Engels.

The index of the two volume Selected Works of Marx and Engels published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, gives the following references under the heading "Tactics of Class Struggle of Proletariat —

Vol.No.I. Pages 44-45 —It is section II of The Communist Manifesto. Only the first seven paras on page 44 can be understood to contain tactical advice The next four paras on page 44 and eleven paras on page 45 are devoted to theoretical conclusions The seven paras on page 44 read as under

"In what relation do the Communists stand to the Proletarians as a whole?

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties

"They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things

"In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

"Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite"

Vol. No. II. Page 297-298.—It is an article written by Engels in 1848-1849 under the heading "Marx and the New Rheiniche Zeitung" Here Engels, while referring to Marx's programme of principles and tactics, reproduces the portions from Communist Manifesto, referred above.

Page No. 430—It is a letter from Engels to A. Bebel dated June 20th, 1873 We reproduce the relevant portion—

"With regard to the attitude of the Party toward Lassalleanism, you of course can judge better than we what tactics should be adopted, especially in particular cases. But there is also this to be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers, one is easily too considerate of one's rival and gets into the habit of always thinking of him first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still form only a very small minority of the German working-class. Our view

themselves with the Social-Democrats, against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution

"In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois

"In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846

"In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie

"But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working-class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution

Against this Lenin accuses Kautsky of "Social-Chauvinism, renegacy, spinelessness, subservience to opprtunism, unexampled vulgarization of the theories of Marxism and complete renunciation of Marxism".

19 **Mensheviks.**

At the Second Party Congress of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party held in 1903, the Party split, on the question of tactics, into two factions, the majority (Bolsheviks) and the minority (Mensheviks).

Thus Mensheviks means 'members of the minority'. These two wings became two separate parties, both calling themselves Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and both professing to be Marxists.

Mensheviks were really the majority party after 1905 Revolution and continued to be so until Sept. 1917.

This Party included all shades of Socialists who believed that Society must progress by natural evolution towards socialism and that the working class must conquer political power first Among their most prominent leaders were Plekhanov, Martov etc.

20. **The Socialist Revolutionary Party.**

Was formed at the end of 1901 by inviting a number of revolutionary Narodnik groups in Russia and abroad The theoretical views of the party were a mixture of populism and Marxism in a revised form. It strove to transform the peasant struggle for land and for the redivision of land into a movement for declaring all land as national property and for its equal distribution among the toilers which it called the Socialisation of land.

A more radical intellectual section broke off from the party in the fall of 1917 and formed a new party, the Left Socialist Revolutionary Party. During the Revolution, the Right Party joined hands with the Mensheviks,

which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda is not to entice away a few individuals and memberships here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass which still remains inactive. The raw force of a single individual whom one has reared oneself from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean turncoats, who always bring the seeds of their false tendencies into the Party with them And if one could only get the masses without their local leaders it would still be all right But one always has to take a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their previous public utterances, if not by their previous views, and now have above all things to prove that they have not deserted their principles but that on the contrary the Social-Democratic Workers Party preaches true Lassalleanism"

17. The State and Revolution.

This book was written by Lenin, in August-Sept 1917 just before the October Revolution in Russia, and was published after the Revolution This work is considered as one of the most important of Lenin's writings, wherein he develops the Marxist theory of the state as the product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonism and serving as an organ of class domination.

In the course of his analysis, he vehemently criticises the theories held by other Marxists of the time such as Plekhanov and Kautsky.

18. Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.

This book was written by Lenin in March 1919 as an answer to a pamphlet "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (1918) by the German Marxist, Karl Kautsky Kautsky in his pamphlet criticises Lenin's policy in Russia and condemns the dictatorship and advocates the democratic method as the only true Socialist method

propertied classes. They stood for constitutional monarchy and political reform. When the revolution broke out in March 1917, they formed the first Provisional Government. But as they declared themselves in favour of allied war aims, their Ministry was overthrown in April. They grew more and more conservative as the Revolution became more and more a social and economic upheaval.

23. **Kolchak.**

A Tsarist general who established his power in Siberia in 1919 and launched an offensive along the whole Eastern Front. His offensive assumed serious proportions and he almost reached the Volga. But the Red Army gave him fierce resistance and he had to retreat. By the end of 1919 his army was completely routed, he himself taken prisoner and shot by order of the Revolutionary Committee in Irkutsk.

24. **Denikin.**

Another Tsarist general who advanced from the south in the summer of 1919. By October his armies seized the whole of Ukraine, captured Orel and almost reached Tula Moscow was in imminent danger, Lenin issued the Slogan "All for the fight against Denikin" The fierce resistance of the Red army, however, forced him to retreat and by the beginning of 1920, his defeat was complete.

25 **The All-Russia Democratic Conference.**

Was held in Petrograd from September 14 to 22, 1917 It was convened by the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary leaders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, and attended by representatives of the Socialist Parties, Soviets, trade unions, Zemstvos, commercial and industrial circles and military units. The

and the Left with the Bolsheviks. The former were in the *two provisional governments after the first (March) Russian Revolution* and the latter *joined the Bolshevik cabinet after November Revolution.*

Right Socialist-Revolutionaries together with Mensheviks were in majority in the Constituent Assembly of Russia, elected after November Revolution and the first president of that one day Assembly was Victor Chernov, a prominent leader of the party. In course of time both Right and Left Socialist Revolutionaries met the fate of all other opposition parties at the hands of the Bolsheviks.

21. **Duma.**

The name of the first Russian House of Representatives granted by Nichloas II (Oct. 30th, 1905) It was formally sanctioned on March 5th 1906, after amendment of the electoral law. Election to the Duma was indirectly on the basis of division of population by classes Only six large cities had direct elections. Electoral law was such that the upper classes had a great preponderance in the Duma.

It had power to legislate, to vote the budget and to control administration but actually its powers were curtailed by Tsar's Prerogatives, frequent use of orders-in-council, irresponsible ministers and the conservative upper house.

First two Dumas were dissolved by the Tsar after 73 and 103 days of existence.

Third duma (1907-1912) elected after a change of electoral law, lasted for full five years and the Fourth (1912-1917) was nearing its completion when Revolution broke out.

22. **The Constitutional Democratic Party.**

Also called Cadets. *Its official name was Party of the People's Freedom.* It was composed of *liberals from the*

Russians laid down the principle of peace without annexations and indemnities, and the recognition of the right of self-determination for all peoples.

Dead-lock continued for some time as in the Russian camp, opinions differed widely on German demands, and in the meanwhile Central powers signed a *separate peace* treaty with Ukrain, which enraged Russia.

On, Feb 28th, Germany denounced the armistice and invaded Estonia On Feb. 19th, Petrograd being immediately threatened, Lenin and Trotsky sued for peace, accepting the conditions laid down at Brest-Litovsk. Germans, however, now delivered an ultimatum embodying fresh demands, including the German occupation of Estonia and Latvia to which the Russians agreed on Feb 24. Treaty was signed on March 3rd. It was three fold. One, territorial cessions by Russia; two, four annexes regulated economic regulations, three, Russia promised to pay 300,000,000 gold Roubles as compensations.

The Treaty was annulled on 11th Nov. 1918, after German defeat in World War I.

29. Otzorism.

From the Russian word 'Otozvat' meaning "to recall". This was the name given to an "Opportunist petty-bourgeois" trend that arose in the ranks of the Bolsheviks in the period of reaction (1908-11) Otzovism demanded recall of Social-Democratic Deputies in the state Duma and the abandonment of work in the trade unions and other legal working class organisations

30. Kerensky. (1881—

Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky, a Russian politician took his degree from St. Petersburg University and joined

conference set up a Preparliament (The Provisional Council of the Republic) as an advisory body to the Provisional Government.

26. Preparliament.

An advisory body set up by a majority vote of the All-Russia Democratic Conference to advise the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks finding themselves outnumbered in the Preparliament decided to boycott it and to prepare for armed uprising

27. "All Power to the Soviets".

This slogan was given by Lenin in the Seventh (April 1917) Conference of the Bolshevik Party The intention was to undermine authority of the Provisional Government by seizing leadership of the Soviets But when the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets met in June, 1917, a little over 100 Bolsheviks were outnumbered by 700 to 800 Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and others The Congress gave full support to the Provisional Government, which suppressed the Bolsheviks and drove Lenin underground. The Bolshevik Party changed its tactics from "All Power to the Soviets" to "Dictatorship of the Proletariat and poor peasantry", at the 6th Party Congress in July, held secretly

28. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Two Treaties were signed at Brest-Litovsk early in 1918. On Feb. 9th, between Central Powers and the Ukrainian Republic; and on March 3rd, between the Central Powers and the Soviet Government of Russia.

On November 20th, 1917, following on a resolution passed by the Congress of Russian Soviets in favour of immediate peace, the new government informed the Central Powers of its readiness to come to terms

The First meeting of peace delegates was held on Dec. 22, in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk

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the world", as gold has been the cause of greatest misery to humanity. But "meanwhile we must save gold in the R.S.F.S.R., sell it at the highest price, buy goods with it at the lowest price. When living among wolves, howl like wolves."

32. New Economic Policy.

Introduced in Russia by Lenin in 1921, when ending of the Civil War and war communism created widespread discontent and sporadic revolts of peasants all over Russia There had been a catastrophic decline in industry, trade and agriculture during the Civil War. N. E. P. was the antidote which began with an agricultural policy of increasing food supplies by offering inducements to the peasant, developed into a commercial policy for the promotion of trade and exchange, involving a financial policy for a stable currency and finally became a policy of increased industrial productivity. Free enterprise was given sufficient elbow room both in industry and agriculture. Lenin regarded the policy as "a retreat and a defeat—for a new attack" The policy was ended by Stalin in 1925, when the Fourteenth Party Congress adopted a "Policy of Socialist Industrialisation."

the bar there. In 1912, he was elected to the Fourth Duma and joined the labour group. He was regarded as a very eloquent speaker.

After the Revolution of Feb. 1917, he became the Minister of Justice in the first provisional government and later, in May, 1917, became War Minister.

On July 25th, he succeeded Prince Lvov as Prime Minister of the 2nd provisional government, holding this office until the outbreak of Bolshevik Revolution. On the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1918, he fled from Petrograd and attempted to march with armed forces on the capital, but was defeated. His further attempts to oust Bolsheviks from power failed after which he returned to Paris. At present he is in America

His published works are Prelude to Bolshevism; and, Catastrophe.

31. Left-Communists.

A section of the Communist Party who advocated non-cooperation with all non-communist organisations such as parliaments and assemblies and stood for a purely revolutionary and illegal programme

33. "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism.

This is an article written by Lenin on Nov 5 and published in Pravda No 251 on Nov 6-7, 1920 In this article Lenin justifies the temporary adoption by his government of certain economic measures of 'State Capitalism.'

He says "when we are victorious on a world-scale, I think we shall use gold for the purpose of building public lavatories in the streets of some of the largest cities of

the world", as gold has been the cause of greatest misery to humanity. But "meanwhile we must save gold in the R.S.F.S.R., sell it at the highest price, buy goods with it at the lowest price. When living among wolves, howl like wolves."

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SUGGESTED READINGS.

I

1. Marx & Engels—The Communist Manifesto.

2. Lenin—The State and Revolution.
   —Imperialism: Highest Stage of Capitalism.
   —Two Tactics of Social Democracy.
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   —One Step Forward, Two Steps backward.
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   —What Is To Be Done?

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   —Problems of Leninism.
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   —On People's Democratic Dictatorship.
   —On culture

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   Nationalism & Internationalism.

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